The Journal

OF

PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.

AND

HENRY JACKSON, LITT. D.

VOL. XXXI.

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.

Cambridge: BOWES AND BOWES.

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.

1910

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

BIBL.
LONDIN
UNIV.

CONTENTS.

No. LXI.

PAGE

Emendations and Explanations. Walter Headlam . . . 1

Plutarch Cebes and Hermas. J. M. Cotterill and C. Taylor . 14

On Martial VII 79 and XII 55. A. E. Housman . . . 42

Adversaria. VI. Robinson Ellis 44

Veritatis Pater. C. Taylor 50

Notes on Catullus and Lucretius. H. W. Garrod . . . 57

Metempsychosis and Variation in Species in Plato. R. D. Archer-Hind 84

On Aristotle *Physics* Z ix 239^{b} 33—240^{a} 18. (Zeno's Fourth Argument against Motion.) R. K. Gaye 95

The Battle of Lake Trasimene. Thomas Ashby 117

Tacitus as a Military Historian in the 'Histories.' E. G. Hardy . 123

No. LXII.

PAGE

Adversaria. VII. Robinson Ellis 153

Towards a Recension of Propertius. Oliffe Legh Richmond . 162

ATAKTA. II. I. Bywater 197

Dictys of Crete and Homer. T. W. Allen 207

ΩPAN in Aeschylus, &c. Arthur Platt 234

Greek Nouns in Latin Poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal. A. E. Housman 236

Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis* IV v 23. Henry Jackson . 267

Were the Lex Thoria of 118 B.C. and the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C. Reactionary Laws? E. G. Hardy 268

Notes on Quintus Smyrnæus. Arthur Platt 287

French Glosses in the Leipsic MS. No. 102 (13th cent.) from the Commentary on Job. William Aldis Wright . . . 299

THE JOURNAL

OF

PHILOLOGY.

EMENDATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS

HESYCHIUS ed. Schmidt

I

57 *ἀζαλαί*: *νέαι καὶ ἁπαλαί*. Read *ἀταλαί* (Hom. λ 39). This error is frequent in Hesych., e.g. II 535 *κριζόν* for *κριτόν*, 257 *ζιτᾶνα* for *τιτᾶνα*. Here, on the next page, is Z for Γ:

58 *ἀζαΐα*: *φθονερά*. Read *ἀγαῖα*. P. 12 *ἀγαῖον*: *φθονερόν*.

78 *ἀϊλεῖν*: *θωπεύειν*. Out of the order. Read *αἰκάλλειν*. P. 77 *αἰκάλει*: *σαίνει*. *θωπεύει*. (*καλεῖν* accounts for the accent.)

131 *ἀλπαλαῖον*: *ἀγαπητόν*. Read *ἀλπ(ν)αλέον*. *Persae* 985 *Βατανώχου παῖδ' ἄλπ(ν)ιστον*.

192 *ἀνεινῶς*: *οἰκτρῶς*. Read *ἀνηλεῶς*, as p. 199.

204 *ἀνιγροδέτης*: *βυρσοδέψης*. Perhaps from Hipponax. In Herodas VII 37 we should probably read *ὠνιγροδέψαι* or *οἱ γρινοδέψαι* or *οἱ ῥινοδέψαι*.

232 *ἀπεμέσῳ*: *ματαίῳ*. For *ἀλεμάτῳ*? Theocr. xv. 4 *ὦ τᾶς ἀλεμάτω ψυχᾶς*.—*μάταιος* is the regular explanation of *ἠλέματος*.

252 *ἀπόνοιμον*: *ἀπογύμνωσιν*. This looks like a conflation of two glosses:

ἀπόνειμον: *ἀνάγνωθι* (schol. Pind. *Isth.* ii. 68, *ἀπόδος* Bekk. An. 432).

ἀπό(γ)νοιαν: *ἀπόγνωσιν* as on p. 244.

273 *ἀργίλληψιν*: *γῆ μὴ βλαστάνουσά τι*. Read *ἀργίλιψ*: which is itself a v. l. of *αἰγίλιψ*: p. 69 *αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν* (Hom. B 633).

312 *ἀτειρής*: *ὁ στερεός. καὶ ἄτρωτος, οὐ τειρόμενος ὑπὸ Ἄρεως*. Read *ἄτρυτος*. Eust. 1517. 12 *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τρύω καὶ "ἄτρυτος ἐν πόνοις" λέγεται ὃν πόνοι οὐ τείρουσιν*.

377 *βλαδάν*: *νωθρῶς*. This would be the adjective, as 378 *βλαδόν*: *ἀδύνατον*. Read *βλάδαν*, the adverb; from *βλάζειν*, whence comes *βλάξ*, whence comes *βλακεύειν*. On p. 378 we have the adj. *βλαδεῖς*: *ἀδύνατοι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων* (? read *ἐξαδυνατῶν*), and p. 6 *ἀβλαδέως*: *ἡδέως*. On p. 141 we have *ἀμβαδέως*: *ἀφροντίστως. ἀπρονοήτως*, which looks like a v. l. of the same word: and this makes it tempting to read *ἠλεῶς* for *ἠδεῶς*: but though we read *δέδοικα μὴ παντάπασι βλάξ τις καὶ ἠλίθιος γένωμαι* in Xen. *Cyr.* i. 4. 12, *ἠλεῶς* would hardly be a possible word for a grammarian to use. Be this what it may, if we merely had *ἀβλαδέως* without explanation, we should reasonably take it to be the *negative* of *βλαδέως* or *βλαδῶς*, which means (in the grammarians' words) *νωθρῶς*, *μωρῶς*, *ἀνοήτως*, *ῥᾳθύμως*, *ὀλιγωρῶς*: and I will suggest the possibility of reading it in *Hom. H. Herm.* 83 in place of *ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα*, where *ἀβλαβέως* has generally seemed unsuitable. *εὐλαβέως* would give an excellent sense, and *εὐλαβής* and *ἀβλαβής* are confused in many places besides *Agam.* 1009; so too, would *εὐφραδέως*, which might easily become *ἀφ(ρ)αδέως*.

428 *γηγενέται*: *γῆς αἱρεταί*. Read *γῆς ἐργάται* (Tzetz. *chil.* viii. 848, and again p. 511 Kiessling *σκυτεύς, ταριχεύς, δυστυχὴς <γῆς> ἐργάτης* as I correct it). Compare below, *γηγενῶν*: *τῶν τὰ γέϊνα ἐργαζομένων κτέ.*

437 *γλώσσας οὐκ ἐμπήξεται: οὐκ ἂν διαφάγοιτο, οὐκ ἂν γεύσοιτο* (Nauck *Trag. Frag.* p. 881). The middle *διαφάγοιτο* is due, as often, to the middle in the lemma; and *γεύσοιτο* is the form of optative late writers use. Otherwise Cobet is likely enough to be right in correcting the lemma to *γλῶσσαν* (Meineke) *οὐκ ἐμπήξετε*. But the explanation cannot be the true one, for the tongue is never spoken of as the instrument of eating, nor the teeth as the instruments of speech. If *ἐμπήξετε* is right, it is a peremptory command in the Greek interrogative form: *γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἐμπήξετε ; hold your tongues!* or *stop his tongue!* as Eur. *Hec.* 1261 *οὐκ ἐφέξετε στόμα ;* ΠΟ. *ἐγκλείετε*. Cf. Hesych. II p. 496 (Nauck p. 884) *κνάπτειν* (*κάπτειν* Wecklein) *κελεύω γλῶσσαν: συνέχειν ἐντὸς τῶν ὀδόντων κελεύω τὴν γλῶσσαν.* Alciphron iii. 57 *τὴν προπετῆ γλῶτταν διαμασῶμαι.* Eur. *fr.* 5 *εἰ μὴ καθέξεις γλῶσσαν.*— I now find that Lex. Sabbait. (Nauck's *Index* p. XXVIII) gives *γλῶσσα εἰ οὐκ ἐμπήξεται. ᾄδηλον εἰ ἡσυχάσεται.*

456 *δακρυπλώειν: πλημμύρειν τοῖς δάκρυσι.* Read *δακρυπλοεῖν*, as *ἐρωτοπλοεῖν*.

535 *δράστην: κόφινον.* Read *δροίτην*.

535 *δράστινες: θεράποντες διάκονοι δοῦλοι* Cyrill.

536 *δρηστῆναι: διάκονοι. θεράπαιναι.*

II 531 *κραστῆναι: διάκονοι γυναῖκες.*

These are taken to be errors for *δραστῆρες* and *δραστεῖραι, δρηστεῖραι*. May there not have been a form *δραστῆνες* with feminine *δραστῆναι* or *δραστῖναι* (cf. *ἐργαστῖναι*)?

II

7 *ἔγκαφος: <ὅσον> ἐγκάψαι, ἐλάχιστον.*

20 *ἔθα: πάλιν.* Read *ἔθ' ἁ: πάλιν.* P. 214 *ἔτι: πάλιν.*

41 *ἐκδιᾶν: σπᾶν. καὶ κέραμον συντετριμμένον.* The origin of this was ΘΛΑΔΙΑΝ:—*θλαδιᾶν: σπᾶν* (in the sense *σπάδωνα* or *θλαδίαν ποιεῖν*) as IV 247 *φλαδιᾶν: θλαδιᾶν, μαλάττειν, τύπτειν.* And *θλαδίαν: κέραμον συντετριμμένον* (Herodas iii 44 *ὁ κέραμος θλῆται*, Babrius 125 *τὸν κέραμον ἔθλα*).

55 *ἐκφάνδην*: *φανερῶς*. *ἢ ἐξειπεῖν*.——*ἐξειπών*, whether we remove *ἤ* or not.

87 *ἔναυλον*: *νέαν ἔχον τὴν εὐεργεσίαν*. Read *τὴν ἐνάργειαν*. Lucian i. 8 *ὄνειρος ἐναργὴς οὗτος .... ἔτι γοῦν ἡ φωνὴ ἔναυλος*.

160 *ἐπίμεστα*: *πλήρη, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ μὴ ἀπεψημένα*.—*ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς* as Theocritus viii. 87 *ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αἰεὶ τὸν ἀμολγέα πληροῖ*? or *ἐπιχειλῆ*, or *ὑπερχειλῆ*? Cf. Bekk. Anecd. 432 <*ἀπομόρξαι*>: *λέγουσι δὲ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ τὸ ἀπαιτῆσαι* (read *ἀποψῆσαι*) *τῶν μέτρων τὸ ὑπερχειλές*.

180 *ἐπίστην*: *ἐξεπλάγην*. Read *ἐπτοήθην*.

202 *ἐς ἰωνιάν*: *ἐς κοπρῶνα*. This *may* be a euphemism; but I should not wonder if the true reading were *ἐς γωνίαν*: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 516 D *ὡς γὰρ ὄρνις εἰς γωνίαν καταδῦσα σκαλεύει, "ἔνθα γέ που καταφαίνεθ', ἅτ' ἐν κοπρίῃ, μία κριθή"*.

209 *ἔσφυται*: *εἰσπέμπεται*. Read *ἐσφοιτᾷ*. P. 56 *ἐκφοιτᾷ* has a v. l. *ἐκφυτᾶ*.

257 *ζητρεῖον*: *τὸ τῶν δούλων ἐργαστήριον*.
ζητρόν: *τὸν δημόκοινον*.

The derivation of these words is not, I venture to assert, from *ζειαί spelt*, which is the prevailing view. The root is DVA, *δύο two*; and from this comes Sanskrit *dyâmi*, to *tie*, that is *join twain* together, *twine*. In Greek from this root we have *δύο, ζυγόν, ζεῦγος, δέω, ζώνη* (like *χώνη, φωνή*), *ζώννυμι, ζῶσαι*: and as *δεῖν* means to *put in prison*, so *ζητρός* means a *gaoler*, and *ζητρεῖον* (like *ἰατρεῖον, μαγειρεῖον*) means a *gaol*, or *δεσμωτήριον*. All difficulty now disappears from the variety of forms we find—*ζητρεῖον, ζώστριον, ζώτριον* etc.

There are several obscure words which come, I fancy, from this root *ζα-* or *ζε-*; as *ζειρά*; *ἀ-ζείρου*: *ἀζώστου*. *ἢ πολυζώστου* Hesych.; *ἀζάτη*: *ἐλευθερία* ibid.; *ζάχμα*: *ἡνία*.

369 *ἰρίσειν*: *ἐκωλύοντο*. The explanation suits *εἴρυσθεν*: or, as some accented this Aeolic form, *εἰρύσθεν*: as p. 22 *εἰρύσατο*: *ἐκωλύσατο*.

445 *κατῆλιψ*: *μεσόδμη. μεσότοιχον. δόκος. ἢ ὑπό τινος*

βαστάζουσα τὸν ὄροφον. Read *δόκος, ἡ ὑπότονος* 'or *main-beam*'. E. M. 567. 16 *μέλαθρον κυρίως λέγεται τὸ μέσον τῆς στέγης ξύλον τὸ ὑπέρτονον καλούμενον*, where other MSS. and Zonaras have *τὸ ὑπότονον*. Cf. *διάτονος, πρότονος, ἐπίτονος, ἀντίτονα, παλίντονα.*—This mistake reminds me in Simonides *Ep.* 147. 3 *Ξεινοφίλου δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει* (*δέ τοι* Hemsterhuis, *δ' ἐΰς* Schneidewin, *δὲ τόθ'* Bergk) to suggest *Ξεινοφίλου δ' ἐτὸς υἱός.*

499 *Κνώσια κῶλα: τὰ ὀρμητικά.* Read *τὰ ὀρχηματικά*,—the Cretan *hyporcheme*. Soph. *Aj.* 699 *Κνώσι' ὀρχήματα*. Ath. 181 b *ὅθεν καὶ Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα*. Eustath. 137. 40.—In schol. Eur. *Hec.* 100 *χόρος διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία, εἰς στάσιμα, εἰς παροδικά, καὶ εἰς κωμικά* read *κομματικά*: see schol. Aeschyl. p. 70. 12, 114. 5 and the argument to the *Persae*.

III

52 *λυγγανόμενον: λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν* (sobbing). Read *λυγγανώμενον*, as *κραυγανώμενον* (Hdt. i. 111), *βρυχανώμενον* (Nicand. *Alex.* 221).

63 *μαζόντα: τὸν μάττοντα τὰς μάζας.* I think, *μαζῶνα*. These seldom-occurring words in *-ων* were very apt to be corrupted in this way: e.g. III 216 *ὀργέοντες* for *ὀργεῶνες*, I 332 *φαρμακῶν[τ]ας*, II 469 (cf. Phot. s.vv. *κέρκωπες, κέρκωψ*) *σπώντων* for *ἀπατεώνων*. Cod. A of Athenaeus 329 b gives *κορακιῶν[τ]ας*; in 352 b however it preserves *τοὺς δὲ Ῥοδίους σπαταλῶνας καὶ θερμοπότας θεωρῶν*, for which Schweighaeuser, with the approval of the Dictionaries, wished to substitute *σπαταλῶντας*. But the substantive is evidently right. In Hesych. III 384 I propose to read *προπ(ρ)εῶν[τ]ες*, IV 48 *σκηνῶνες* for *σκηνόντες*, and IV 186 *τυπῶνες* for *τυπῶντες*.

113 *μιτρέον: ποικίλον.* Read *μιτραῖον*.

185 *οἴκων μωστορνύναι: τῶν οἴκων μέσον ὀρνύναι.*—Read *οἴκων μέσατ' ὀρνύναι.*

245 *οὐ καθέδρα· οὐ φροντίς.* The lemma has dropped out as Meineke saw, who suggested *<οὐχ ἕδρας ἔργον>*. But

φροντίς would not be used to explain ἔργον: it is the scholiasts' word for ὥρα. The lemma therefore was οὐχ ἕδρας ωρα or οὐχ ἕδρης ωρη, and this critic took the wrong alternative, for no doubt he should have explained by καιρός, as above οὐχ ἕδος: οὐ καιρὸς καθέζεσθαι. Cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 13 and schol.

381 πρόκροσσον: οὐ καθαροῦν, κλιμακωτόν. "Pro καθαροῦν scribendum κατὰ ῥοῦν: quia naves eo modo dispositae ἀντικέφαλοι iacent; ergo non sunt aptae ad navigandum, neque κατὰ ῥοῦν" Heinsius in Stephanus. Read οὐκ ἀθροῦν.

384 προπεῶντες: προεστῶτες. Read προπ(ρ)εῶνες. See above on μαζόντα, and my note on Pind. *Nem.* vii. 86.

397 προφανῶς: προθύμως.—Written on προφρόνως.

412 πυρινίζειν: sine expl. Read πυρηνίζειν: meaning (properly) *to stone*, ἐκπυρηνίζειν: cf. κοκκίζειν, ἐκκοκκίζειν, ἐκγιγαρτίζειν.

IV

24 σκαλῶ: σκαλαβῶ. Read σκαλῷ: σκαλάβῳ (or σκαλάφῳ)? Cf. Phot. σκαλός: ὃν ἡμεῖς σπάλακα: which might be defended by λοχός = λεχώ. But possibly these are traces of a form σκαλώ.

43 σκηνύντες: σύσκηνοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ σκηνωταίς.—— σκῃνῶντες: σύσκηνοι. λέγονται δὲ καὶ σκηνωταί Musurus. That should at least be σκηνοῦντες or συσκηνοῦντες: and perhaps σκηνωταίς points to <συ>σκηνωταί. But I think it possible the true reading was σκηνῶνες: see my note on III p. 63.

63 σπαταγγίζειν: ταράσσειν. Read σπαταγίζειν: cf. παταγεῖν, πλαταγεῖν, βλαταγίζουσα, ἀρραθάγησεν, ἐβρατάγησεν, ἐκλαταγεῖν, κάραγος.

157 τιμηδές. εὐλαβές. "*Timidus* confert Thes. Detortum puto ex (ἐ)πιμηθές vel (ἐ)πιμελές" Schmidt. *Timidus*! But, as I have pointed out on Herodas III 95, ἐπιμηθής is the *contrary* of προμηθής, and so of εὐλαβής. Probably ἀρ]τιμηδές, as e.g. p. 156 τίθεον for ἀν]τίθεον.

186 *τυπῶντες*: *χοροί τινες.* I should think, *τυπῶνες*: cf. *αὐθων.*

249 *φλογόδερπνοι*: *ἄνθρακες.* Read *φλογόδειπνοι.* Cf. Callimachus in schol. Aesch. *P. V.* 384 *ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις*] *ἔνθεν ὁ Καλλίμαχος πυρίδειπνόν φησι.*

253 *φόρβαντα· ἰατρικὰ φάρμακα.* Rather *φόρβα*: *τὰ ἰ. φ.* as p. 254 *φόρβια*: *φάρμακα. οἱ δὲ φόρβα.* But what shall we do now with the following?

254 *φόρβον*: *ἀπάνονα.* The previous glosses might suggest *φορβῶνα*: *παιῶνα.* But they would use *ἰατρόν* as an explanation, not *παιῶνα.* No, *ἀπάνονα* is for *ἀπόλλωνα*, and probably we should read *φοῖβον*: *ἀπόλλωνα*, as in Suid. *φοῖβος*: *ἀπόλλων*, and schol. Eur. *Or.* 28 p. 349. *φοιβάς* and *φορβάς* seem to have been anciently confused as an epithet of Cassandra. Perhaps then in the previous glosses the true readings were *φοῖβα* and *φοίβεια* (as *γόργεια, πυρεῖα, στυππεῖα*).

280 *χελιδόνος δίκην*: *τοὺς βαρβάρους χελιδόσιν ἀπεικάζουσι διὰ τὴν ἀσύνθετον λαλιάν.* So it is still quoted by the editors of Aeschylus on *Agam.* 1034. Read *ἀσύνετον*, which was the established definition of a *βάρβαρος.* Only two lines below we rightly have *βάρβαρα καὶ ἀσύνετα.* There is the same mistake in II 413 *καρικήν*: *ἀσύνθετος*, which Heinsius corrected. *ἀσύνθετος* is *uncompounded*, a grammarians' word.

291 *χοίνικες*: *αἱ βαθεῖαι πέδαι.* Read *βαρεῖαι.* No confusion is more common. In Aesch. *Supp.* 24 we should read with Hermann *βαθύτιμοι χθόνιοι*: no such compound of *-τιμος* has an active sense: cf. *εὐρύτιμος, πολυ-, μεγα-, μεγαλο-, μεγιστο-.* In Eustath. *Opusc.* 322. 80 read *πλησιαστῶν βαθυόλβων ὄντων*, i.e. *βαθυπλούτων*, and remove *βαρύολβος* from the Dictionaries.

SOPHOCLES

Fragments, ed. Nauck 1889

11 Read *τὸ χρύσεον δὲ τᾶς Δίκας | δέδορκεν ὄμμα, τὸν ἄδικον δ' ἀμείβεται* for *τὸν δ' ἄδικον.*

168 *οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν πεῖραν· ἓν δ' ἐπίσταμαι·*
τοῦ παιδὸς ὄντος τοῦδ' ἐγὼ διόλλυμαι.

For *ἓν δ'* Suid. has the error *οὐδ'*. I suspect in *Aj.* 1141 we ought to read

M. *ἕν σοι φράσω· τόνδ' ἐστὶν οὐχὶ θαπτέον.*
T. *ἓν δ' ἀντακούσει, τοῦτον, ὡς τεθάψεται.*

"And you shall hear one thing in return,—that *this man shall* be buried". The mocking repetition of the *ἕν* is natural in a retort: cf. *Theb.* 1034, 241, *Eum.* 730, *P. V.* 70, *Med.* 1359—62, *Acharn.* 1097—1135, Herodas vii. 67, and Soph. *O.T.* 547—551, beginning

ΚΡ. *τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν μου πρῶτ' ἄκουσον, ὡς ἐρῶ.*
ΟΙ. *τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μή μοι φράζ', ὅπως οὐκ εἶ κακός.*

The reading of A is *σὺ δ' ἀντακούσει τοῦτον* and a second hand in L has written *γρ. σὺ δ'*, but L's text is *ἀλλ' ἀντακούσει τοῦτον.* How did this variety arise? I suggest that *ἓν δ'* was corrupted to *οὐδ'*, and that *ἀλλ'* was a deliberate alteration. Valckenaer on *Phoen.* 1651 had urged *ἓν τοὐτό γ'*, saying "Menelai dictum *ἕν σοι φράσω* poscebat mea sententia Teucri responsum *σὺ δ' ἀντάκου' ἓν τοὐτό γ'*". But I think that *τοῦτον* gives a better balance here than *ἓν δ' ἀντακούσει τοῦτο γ', ὡς τεθάψεται.*

220 Thamyras (Ath. 175 f)

ᾤχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη
λύραι μοναύλοις τε χειμωντεως
ναοσστερημακωμασάσησ

μόναυλοι were used in the *κῶμος* (Ath. 176 c), and the other equipments for it were garlands and *torches*: since, too, *κωμασάσησ* looks as though it had been caused by the

influence of a genitive, I conjecture *δᾳδός τ' ἐρήμη πολλὰ κωμάσασα χείρ.*

246 *ἀτελῆ*: *ἀδάπανα*. It was in this sense that *ἀτελής* was used when Horace translated it by *immunis aram si tetigit manus.*

257 *τραχὺς ᾧ χελώνης κέρχνος ἐξανίσταται*: the *ᾧ* is an error for *ὡς*, which the grammarians commonly add in such a case; e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 159, *Theb.* 820.

335 κωφοι *σάτυροι*. The name, I imagine, refers to their condition before their eyes were opened by Prometheus: *οἳ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην, κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον.* Compare Aesch. *fr.* 207. Soph. *fr.* 609 *λήθην δὲ τὴν πάντ'* (*πάντων?*) *ἀπεστερημένην, κωφὴν ἄναυδον* from the *Ὑβρις σατυρική* suggests that there was the same reference there: it was Prometheus who gave *μνήμην*. The *Μῶμος σατυρικός* might probably deal with the same date.

459 *βοὴν Κυκνῖτιν*.—"*βοὴν* corruptum videtur" Nauck. No, it is just like Pindar's *Κύκνεια μάχα* (of the other Κυκνος).

774 (Plut. *Mor.* 625 D): there is an omission here; <"*and* the old man *cannot read*, or *see things, at a short distance*">, *πόρρω δὲ λεύσσων· ἐγγύθεν δὲ πᾶς τυφλός.*

786 Plut. *Artax.* 28 *καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἴσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον, "ταχεῖα πειθὼ τῶν κακῶν ὁδοιπορεῖ". λεία γάρ τις ἡ πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλόμενον.* You could not have a better illustration of Aesch. *Agam.* 485 *πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ἔρος ἐπινέμεται ταχύπορος.* The absurdity of the MS. reading *ὅρος* I have shown in *Class. Rev.* 1902 p. 441 note 30.

864 *οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τῶν σοφῶν ἐν οἷς ὁ νοῦς*
θείᾳ ξύνεστιν ἡμέρᾳ τεθραμμένος.

ὅσοισι νοῦς Heimsoeth conjectured, Blaydes *ὅσοις ὁ νοῦς*, supposing *τῶν σοφῶν* to mean 'of wise men'. It is the genitive of *τὰ σοφά* (*Eum.* 434, Soph. *fr.* 696, *Trag. adesp.* 509, Eur. *Supp.* 904, *A. P.* vii. 79). "v. 2 graviter corruptus needum sanatus" Nauck. I do not think so. Compare *Agam.* 106, and *O. T.* 868 (of the eternal laws), *οὐδέ ναν θνατὰ φύσις*

ἀνέρων ἔτικτεν· . . . . μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει. ἡμέρᾳ, for which many conjectures have been made, is sound: it means *life*, as in Herodas iv. 68 *ζόην βλέπουσιν ἡμέρην*. Indeed it is Sophocles' own phrase elsewhere: *Aj.* 622 *ἦ που παλαιᾷ μὲν σύντροφος ἀμέρᾳ λευκῷ τε γήρᾳ μήτηρ*. Such is a human being under the normal conditions of mortality; *οὐ μέντοι τούτοις γηράσκει τὰ σοφὰ, ἐν οἷς ἂν θείᾳ σύντροφος ἡμέρᾳ ὁ νοῦς τυγχάνῃ ὤν*.

173 a (in Nauck's *Index* p. XI) *κἄνω φέρει | τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς <τὸ> φαλακρὸν, ἡδὺ διαγελῶν*: as Herodas vi. 76.

LIBANIUS (ed. Reiske)

1 p. 311. 14 *Ἀντιοχικός*: "Reges Syriae dicuntur Antiochiam alii aliis templis exornavisse: *ὁ μέν τις* MINωOC *ἱερὸν ἐποίησεν, ὁ δὲ Δήμητρος, ἄλλος Ἡρακλέους*. Cui fit credibile Syriae regem Minoi templum posuisse? Nihil reperio unde proclivi errore MINωOC nasci potuerit. Proximum est *Ἀπόλλωνος*, sed permirum accidit quo pacto id in *Μίνωος* potuerit depravari" Cobet *Coll. Crit.* p. 103. The scribe wrote *Μίνωος* because he had had occasion to write *Μίνως* a few lines before (*v.* 3); but what Libanius of Antioch had written here is *Μηνός*. The god *Μήν* is more familiar to us now than he was in Cobet's time, and his temple at Antioch is known from coins as well as from Strabo 557 *ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μηνὸς Φαρνάκου καλούμενον ... ἐτίμησαν δ' οἱ βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτως εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὥστε τὸν βασιλικὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον τοῦτο ἀπέφηναν "Τύχην βασιλέως καὶ Μῆνα Φαρνάκου". ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Σελήνης ἱερόν, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τό τε τοῦ Μηνὸς ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρκαίου τὸ πρὸς Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ* (p. 577) *καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων*. Salmasius on Lamprid. *Heliogab.* 7 corrected a similar absurdity in one of Gruter's inscriptions, ATTIDI MINOTAVRO for MHNOTVRANNO.

ARISTIDES (ed. Dindorf)

I p. 79 fin. *φῶς ὅποι κινεῖσθαι ἔπεται.* v. l. and Canter *κινεῖσθε.* v. l. and Dindorf *κινοῖσθε.* Read *κινῆσθ' ἄν*

I 756 fin. *καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ καιρὸς παιδευόντων ἀλλὰ παιζόντων, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, ὁ τῶν Διονυσίων, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, ὁ τῶν σάμων τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πανυχίδων.* For *σάμων* Stephanus and Jebb read *Σαμίων,* and Reiske remarks "e mentione Samiorum apparet hanc orationem Sami esse habitam". Read *ὁ τῶν γάμων τῶν ἱερῶν,* the season of *ἱεροὶ γάμοι.*

II 472 *ἢν εἴ τις διαιρήσει τῷ λόγῳ, τί χρήσεται θαυμάσαι λοιπόν ;* Read *τί χρῆσται* or *χρῇσται?*

II 608 *αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν τε χρείαν ... καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας τὴν ὥραν νύκτα ταύτην ἢ καὶ ἄστρα ταυτὶ καὶ θεούς ...* Read *νύκτα ταυτηνὶ καὶ ἄστρα ταυτὶ ...* On p. 610. 22 he has *ταυτηνὶ φέρεις τὴν ψῆφον,* but *οὑτοσί,* being 'deictic', does not need the article.

ARTEMIDORUS *Oneirocrit.* ed. Hercher

v 69 p. 267 *οὐ μὴν ἀπώνατό γε τῆς μαντικῆς οὐδὲ τοῦ πορισμοῦ· ἡ γὰρ γυνὴ αὐτὸν καταπροδοῦσα ἀπέστρεψεν, ὥστε ὑπ' αἰδοῦς μεταστῆναι.* Beyond remarking that *ἀπέστρεψεν* is corrupt, Hercher records no suggestion. The true word must, I think, be *ἀπέστερξεν*: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* p. 266 = 610 *τὴν μητέρα ἀπέστερξεν ἐπὶ δούλου ἔρωτι.* There are two other places where I find the same corruption: in quoting Terpander 5 *τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες ἀοιδάν* Strabo gives *ἀποστρέψαντες*: and in Theocritus' epigram 4. 14 *εὔχε' ἀποστέρξαι τοὺς Δάφνιδός με πόθους* the *Anth. Pal.* ix. 437 gives *εὔχου ἀπὸ στρέψαι.*

ARISTOPHANES *Vespae*

τάχα δ' ἂν
διὰ τὸν χθιζινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἡμᾶς διεδύετ'
ἐξαπατῶν ἔλεγέν θ' ὡς φιλαθήναιος ἦν,
καὶ τὰν Σάμῳ πρῶτος κατείποι,—
283 †διὰ τοῦτ' ὀδυνηθεὶς
εἶτ' ἴσως κεῖται πυρέττων

The line to which 283 should correspond gives no suspicion of unsoundness, εἶτ' ἐφλέγ-μηνεν αὐτοῦ, an epitrite, as is the preceding line and the line following, only with a syncopation, which is common in that metre. One thing is certain, that to scan, there must have been a prodelision or a crasis of the ὁ in ὀδυνηθείς: for example, οὕτω ὀδυνηθείς. If the original were διὰ τὸ τούτου ὀδυνηθείς 'on account of his behaviour', it would be according to a common practice of scribes in dealing with crases to write it διὰ τὸ τούτ' ὀδυνηθείς. This would be good Greek; but it is very unusual in this metre that a tribrach in one line should *correspond* to a trochee in the other; and it was the regular scholiastic habit to explain such an accusative as τοῦτ' ὀδυνηθείς would be by supplying διά, e.g. schol. *Pers.* 162, 168. I think therefore with Madvig that διὰ should be ejected; and this leaves a word to be supplied which will form a crasis with ὀδυνηθείς and account for the omission of itself: the word would seem to have been τοῦτο δ<ήπου ὀδ>υνηθείς.

ACHILLES TATIUS

ii. 27 οὔτε γὰρ νῦν

iii. 1 χρόνου μέν τινα διαταλαντουμένην οὕτω τὴν ναῦν τοῖς κύμασιν ἐπαλαίομεν εἰς τὸ ἀντίρροπον καθελεῖν· ... αἰφνίδιον δέ ... τοῦ μὲν τέως εἰς κῦμα κλιθέντος ἀναθορόντος ὀξείᾳ ῥοπῇ. The metaphor is from a *balance*; besides, they could not struggle to *pull down* the ship, but to *weigh it down*, that is, καθέλκειν.

iii. 8 ἤδη μὲν <οὖν> ἀνεῳγμένην

CHARITO

i. 7 *Θήρων γὰρ ἦν τις, πανοῦργος ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ ἀδικίας πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ λῃστὰς ἔχων*, whose design is *πλουτῆσαι* at one stroke, which will make them all *πλουσίους*. But *ἐξ ἀδικίας πλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν* is not a Greek expression. *ἐξ ἀδικίας* can only be 'from unjust *sources*,' 'by dishonest means': e.g. Democritus (Stob. *Flor.* 94. 25) *χρήματα πορίζειν μὲν οὐκ ἀχρεῖον· ἐξ ἀδικίης δὲ παντὸς* (MSS. *πάντως* or *πάντων*) *κάκιον*, Muson. *ib.* 85. 20 *οὐ γὰρ ἂν πορίσειέ τις ἐξ ἀδικίας πολλά*, Liban. IV 61. 27 *πλοῦτον συλλέγων ἐξ ἀδικίας*, Alciphron iii. 70 *λῃσταῖς ἐκοινώνησα, ἔνθεν ὁ βίος μοι ἀργὸς ἐξ ἀδικίας πορίζεται* ('I am now a *πορισταί*'); and the collections of Hemsterhuys and Blaydes on Ar. *Plut.* 755 *οὐκ ἐκ δικαίου τὸν βίον κεκτήμενος* (schol. *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδικίας*). There is a lacuna of this nature: *ἐξ ἀδικίας* <*πλοῦτον συλλέγων* or *πορίζων χρήματα*, or *πλεονεκτῶν, ἐπὶ* .....> *πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν* ..... 'procuring wealth by dishonest methods, and sailing the sea for the sake of unjust gains.'

PROCLUS

Hymn. II 12 (Bruneck *Analecta* II 443) *μηδέ μ' ἀποπλάγξειεν δεισιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*: the Dictionaries quote this as an example of *δεισίθεος*, but metre and sense show it should be *ἀδεισιθέων*.

WALTER HEADLAM.

PLUTARCH CEBES AND HERMAS,

by the late J. M. Cotterill and C. Taylor.

The late Dr J. M. Cotterill has left Papers of "extended notes upon the *Tabula* of Cebes and the *Pastor* of Hermas," in the first of which he gives reason to think that the *Tabula* was one of the main sources of the *Pastor*. In the next he writes as below, chiefly upon Plutarch's *Moralia* as a source of the *Tabula* and the *Pastor*. At the beginning he shews from Plato's *Phaedo* that the author of the *Tabula* was apparently a pseudo-Cebes. All the citations from Plutarch in A and B being from vol. ii., he is quoted there by page simply.

A. PLATO AND OTHERS.

1. *Platonis Phaedo.*

I come now to the second part of my inquiry, and the most important part if the indebtedness of 'Hermas' to *Cebetis Tabula* is to help in determining the date of *Hermae Pastor*. When was the *Tabula* written? Hitherto critics have had nothing certain to say. In Mr Jerram's edition (Clarendon Press, 1878) the reasons on which he relies for believing that the author of the *Tabula* was not the Theban Cebes are set forth, and I need not refer to them. Although not the Theban Cebes, the author, he holds, must have lived long before Lucian's time. He seems however to have only one reason for this, namely the use of ἐκεῖνος in Lucian's ὥσπερ ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος in *De Merc. Cond.* 42. Lucian, he says, in a note on the ascription of the *Tabula* to a Cebes of Cyzicus, a Stoic philosopher of the second century A.D., "would not have spoken of the author as ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος, that *famous* Cebes, had he been referring to a contemporary who may even have been his junior." This is simply to read into the word the meaning

which it is desired to read out. Lucian sometimes uses ἐκεῖνος in a satirical sense, and for anything we know to the contrary he may have used it so when he wrote ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος.

To the reasons given by Mr Jerram for rejecting the Theban Cebes as the author of the *Tabula*, I will add some others which seem to me conclusive.

Cebes was a friend of Socrates, and the part taken by him in the conversation with Socrates on the immortality of the soul is set forth in Plato's *Phaedo*. The coincidences in thought and diction between the *Tabula* and the *Phaedo* are far too numerous to have arisen accidentally. When we find Cebes in the *Tabula* speaking of "all the Virtues" again and again, and enumerating among them ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη and σωφροσύνη, we recognize a relation to καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ξυλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετὴ ἥ μετὰ φρονήσεως (i. p. 69). This in itself proves nothing, for such coincidences must needs be found if the *Tabula* was written by the Theban Cebes. If however we find that these coincidences occur not simply in the body of the *Tabula* and the *Phaedo*, but in the preliminary matter which in each document precedes the actual teaching, this will shew that the Cebes concerned with the *Tabula* was not the Cebes of Plato but a mere *falsarius* seeking to pass himself off as the famous Theban. This is exactly what we do find.

At the very beginning of the *Phaedo* Echecrates asks Phaedo whether he was present at the death of Socrates, and explains that he had himself not heard the details, but wished to do so.

p. 57] ΕΧ. ...ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσαιμι. καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων οὐδεὶς πάνυ τι ἐπιχωριάζει (p. 59 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων) τὰ νῦν Ἀθήναζε, οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφῖκται χρόνου συχνοῦ ἐκεῖθεν, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἷός τε ἦν περὶ τούτων, πλήν γε δὴ κ.τ.λ.

p. 58] ταῦτα δὴ πάντα προθυμήθητι ὡς σαφέστατα ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, εἰ μή τίς σοι ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὖσα.

ΦΑΙΔ. Ἀλλὰ σχολάζω γε καὶ πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλου ἀκούοντα ἔμοιγε ἀεὶ πάντων ἥδιστον.

p. 61] *ἃ μὲν οὖν τυγχάνω ἀκηκοώς*, ΦΘΟΝΟΣ *οὐδεὶς λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἴσως καὶ μάλιστα πρέπει μέλλοντα ἐκεῖσε ἀποδημεῖν διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ* ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΕΙΝ *κ.τ.λ.*

In the *Tabula* (§§ 1—3), as some strangers are walking in the temple of Cronos, they observe a certain *Πίναξ* the meaning of which they cannot understand. An old man present volunteers the necessary information, and a dialogue follows between the *Πρεσβύτης* and a *Ξένος*.

§ 2] Π. *...οὐδὲ γὰρ* ΤΩΝ *ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὶ οἴδασι, τί ποτε αὕτη ἡ* ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ *δύναται· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι πολιτικὸν ἀνάθημα· ἀλλὰ* ΞΕΝΟΣ ΤΙΣ *πάλαι ποτὲ ἀφίκετο δεῦρο, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων καὶ δεινὸς περὶ σοφίαν, λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ Πυθαγόρειόν τινα καὶ Παρμενίδειον* ΕΖΗΛΩΚΩΣ *βίον, ὃς τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Κρόνῳ...καὶ ἐθαύμασά γε, ἔφη, αὐτὸν πολυχρονιώτατον νεώτερος ὤν, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ σπουδαῖα διελέγετο· καὶ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς* ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ *πολλάκις αὐτοῦ ἠκηκόειν διεξιόντος.*

§ 3] Ξ. *πρὸς Διὸς τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ,* ΕΙ ΜΗ ΤΙΣ ΣΟΙ *μεγάλη* ΑΣΧΟΛΙΑ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙ ΟΥΣΑ, ΔΙΗΓΗΣΑΙ *ἡμῖν· πάνυ γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ μῦθος.*

Π. ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΦΘΟΝΟΣ, *ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη.*

It would thus appear that 'Cebes' read and used Plato's *Phaedo*, and that consequently he could not be the Cebes referred to by Plato.

Carolus Praechter in his critical edition of the text of the *Tabula* (Lips. 1893) reads *πολυχρονιώτατον νεώτερος ὤν*, from Cod. A ΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΩΤ...ΩΝ. Jerram (p. 47) prefers ΠΟΛΥΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ *νεώτερος ὤν*, on the ground that "*πολυχρόνιος* is not common in prose, and is applied rather to things than persons." But Plutarch in *Consol. ad Apollonium* (p. 119) has *οὐκ ἀθάνατον οὐδὲ πολυχρόνιον γενέσθαι μοι τὸν υἱόν*, with ΖΗΛΩΣΑΙ almost directly on the same page. The use of this tract in the *Tabula* will be shewn presently. In a revised abridgement of his *Cebes* Jerram reads *πολυχρονιώτατον* (1898).

2. *Sextus Empiricus.*

I shall begin my comparison of the *Tabula* with later writings by pointing out a coincidence which it has with Sext. Emp. *M.* vii. 323 [p. 260, ed. Bekker 1842] *παρὰ δὲ τὴν* ΤΩΝ

πολλῶν καὶ εἰκαιοτέρων ψευδοδοξίαν *ἐναντίως ἔχειν ὑπελήφθη τὸ πρᾶγμα.* Cf. *Tab.* § 11. ...*πάλιν πλανᾶται ὑπὸ τῆς* Ψευδοδοξίας. § 12. ...*ταύτην τοίνυν* (sc. *Ψευδοπαιδείαν*) οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ εἰκαῖοι *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* Παιδείαν *καλοῦσιν.* "Cebes is clearly a copyist, but not necessarily from Sextus," who may himself be quoting the language of some earlier writer. "The coincidence proves little as to the date of the *Tabula*, but it is very significant as to the way in which our Cebes used his authorities. *Ψευδοδοξία* is a late word, so also is *εἰκαῖος* save for one example (Soph. *Fragm.*)."

3. *Diodorus Siculus.*

In § 26 Cebes says that his pilgrim at last reaches a stage when nothing of the evils which once troubled him troubles him any more, *καθάπερ οἱ ἐχιόδηκτοι. τὰ γὰρ θηρία δήπου, τὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους κακοποιοῦντα μέχρι θανάτου, ἐκείνους οὐ λυπεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν* ἀντιφάρμακον *αὐτούς. οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον οὐκέτι οὐδὲν λυπεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν* ἀντιφάρμακον. The last word is a late one, and few examples are found. (The same may be said of *ἐχιόδηκτοι.*) Compare Diod. xvii. 90, where he speaks of a place infested with snakes, which *διὰ τῶν* δυσμάτων *ὀξεῖς θανάτους ἀπειργάζοντο.* But the Macedonians, when they had learned from the natives *τὴν* ἀντιφάρμακον *ῥίζαν*, were freed from their troubles. This is seemingly the earliest example of the use of the word which illustrates the language of Cebes. Later examples would not do so.

This is not the only place where the language of Cebes suggests the use of Diodorus. In § 15, when describing the way to Παιδεία, he has *οὐκοῦν καὶ βουνός τις ὑψηλὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἀνάβασις στειὴ πάνυ, καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔχουσα...καὶ ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ ὁρᾷς πέτραν τινὰ μεγάλην καὶ ὑψηλὴν καὶ κύκλῳ ἀπόκρημνον ;* In iv. 78 Diodorus says of a city that it could not be taken, the founder having made στενὴν *καὶ σκολιὰν τὴν* ἀνάβασιν *αὐτῆς*, so that three or four men could defend it; and a little below he speaks of *τὸ τῆς* πέτρας ἀπόκρημνον. The language of Cebes is excellently chosen to express the difficulty of the Way.

B. PLUTARCH.

1. *Plutarch and the beginning of the Tabula.*

I do not pretend to have made an exhaustive examination of the *Tabula* with respect to later writings, nor is this at all necessary for the purpose I have in hand. I have already shewn that Hermas used Cebes. If I go on to shew satisfactorily that Cebes used Plutarch, this will suffice to give a date prior to which *Hermae Pastor* could not have been written. And if I shew further that Hermas himself used Plutarch, and not that simply, but that Hermas used not only the same treatises as Cebes but often even the same pages and passages, the proof will be still more satisfactory. I have shewn the use of Plato's *Phaedo*, including its introduction, in the opening remarks of Cebes. I have now to shew that the opening *sentences* in each of three of Plutarch's treatises meet in Cebes' opening sentence.

α. De Sera Numinis Vindicta.

p. 548] ...ὥσπερ ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες.

β. De Socratis Genio.

p. 575] ΑΡΧ. Ζωγράφου τινός, ὦ Καφεισία, * * περὶ τῶν θεωμένων τοὺς γεγραμμένους πίνακας λόγον οὐ φαῦλον ἀκούσας ἐν εἰκόνι λελεγμένον.

p. 577] ...πίνακ χάλκεος ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ ὡς παμπάλαια· γνῶναι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν παρεῖχε, καίπερ ἐκφανέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυθέντος, ἀλλ' ἰδιός τις ὁ τύπος καὶ βαρβαρικὸς τῶν χαρακτήρων κ.τ.λ.

p. 578] λέγονται γὰρ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς τὰ γράμματα συμβαλεῖν τοῦ πίνακος...εἴ τι συμβάλλοι τῶν γεγραμμένων.

γ. De Pythiae Oraculis.

p. 394] ΒΑΣ. Ἐσπέραν ἐποιήσατε βαθεῖαν, ὦ Φιλῖνε, διὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων παραπέμποντες τὸν ξένον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀναμένων ἀπηγόρευσα. ΦΙΛ. Βραδέως γὰρ ὠδεύομεν...τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἑώρων αὖθις εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον τῷ ξένῳ καὶ τὴν Λυκωρίαν συναναβαίνοντας (Herm. *Sim.* ix. 16. 7 *συνανέβησαν*).

With all this compare in the *Tabula*:

§ 1] Ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπατοῦντες (sc. *ἡμεῖς οἱ ξένοι*) *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐθεωροῦμεν· ἀνέκειτο δὲ καὶ πίναξ τις ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νεώ, ἐν ᾧ ἦν γραφὴ ξένη τις καὶ μύθους ἔχουσα ἰδίους, οὓς οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα συμβαλεῖν τίνες καί ποτε ἦσαν. οὔτε γὰρ πόλις ἐδόκει ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον κ.τ.λ.*

§ 2] *...ἀλλὰ ξένος τις πάλαι...τὴν γραφὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Κρόνῳ.*

§ 26] *Ἐπειδὰν οὖν θεωρήσῃ πάντα, τί ποιεῖ ἢ ποῦ ἔτι βαδίζει; Ὅπου ἂν βούληται, ἔφη. πανταχοῦ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἀσφάλεια ὥσπερ τῷ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἔχοντι.*

2. *De Pythiae Oraculis.*

Plutarch's *De Pyth. Orac.* has not very much in common with Cebes. There is however one coincidence well worth consideration. Hermas in *Vis.* ii. 4. 1 mistakes the Church for the Sibyl, the author of the *Pastor* borrowing the idea from the corresponding mistake of *Ψευδοπαιδεία* for *Παιδεία* in *Tab.* § 12. Cebes' *Παιδεία* is the Church of Hermas. In the description of *Παιδεία* in *Tab.* § 18 is the following: *γυνή τις... μέση δὲ καὶ κεκριμένη ἦδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, στολὴν δ' ἔχουσα ἁπλῆν τε καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον.* That *ἀκαλλώπιστον* here (Praechter) is the right reading is proved out of Lucian *Piscat.* 16, i. p. 587 *Ἀρετὴ μὲν ἡ ἀνδρώδης αὕτη...Ἡ δὲ προηγουμένη Παιδεία... Τὴν ἀκαλλώπιστον ἐκείνην οὐχ ὁρᾷς...;* The word is very rarely found, but it occurs in *De Pyth. Orac.* of the Sibyl herself Plutarch writes:

p. 397] *Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη, χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.*

Hermas calls the Church *πρεσβυτέρα*, and goes on at once to explain the title by the long continuance of the Church. Cebes uses *μαινομένη* in his description of *Τύχη* (§ 7).

3. *De Socratis Genio.*

Cebes' κεκριμένη ἤδη (§ 18) is found in *De Socratis Genio, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἤδη κεκριμένην* (p. 585). Hermas has *ἤδη σεαυτῷ κέκρικας* in *Mand.* xii. 3. 6. One lays no stress of course on a small coincidence of this kind, but it is different with the following passage found in the very middle of the quotation from this tract given above on p. 18 *in connexion with Cebes:*

p. 578] ...οὔτ' εἰδότες *οὐδέν, οὔτε* * * *Ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος, ὁ Λεοντίδης ἐξῄει μετὰ τῶν φίλων· ἡμεῖς δ' εἰσελθόντες ἡσπαζόμεθα τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης καθεζόμενον, οὐ κατατετευχότα τῆς δεήσεως, οἶμαι, μαλὰ σύννουν καὶ διαλελυπημένον.*

Compare in Hermas:

Vis. iv. *fin.*] *...ταῦτα εἶπασα ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ* οὐκ εἶδον *ποίῳ τόπῳ ἀπῆλθεν· ψόφος γὰρ ἐγένετο, καὶγὼ ἐπεστράφην εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω φοβηθείς, δοκῶν ὅτι τὸ θηρίον ἔρχεται.*

Vis. v. *init.*] Προσεγξαμένου *μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ* καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην, *εἰσῆλθεν ἀνήρ τις ἔνδοξος τῇ ὄψει...καὶ* ἡσπάσατο *με, κἀγὼ ἀντησπασάμην αὐτόν...καὶ φόβος με ἔλαβεν, καὶ ὅλος συνεκόπην ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης.* Hermas' last words here read almost like an explanation of Plutarch's *διαλελυπημένον*, which seems to be a *ἅπαξ λεγ.*

From the foregoing pages it appears that, explain it as we may, Cebes and Hermas meet, so to speak, in Plutarch's *De Socr. Genio.* The like is of common occurrence, and consequently I shall simply point out coincidences as I come across them, without attempting a formal and separate comparison of each writer with Plutarch. But the fact that Cebes and Hermas do meet in the same treatises, pages, and even passages of Plutarch must needs have some special significance. I shall have more to say on *De Socratis Genio* when I come to my third paper, which is specially on *Vis.* iv.

4. *Consolatio ad Apollonium.* *See also* A § 1, p. 16.

Plutarch's *Consol. ad Apoll.* is more closely related to the *Tabula* than any other writing, whether early or late, that I have been able to discover except *Hermae Pastor.* I have shewn that Hermas used Cebes' language referring to the Sphinx and her enigma. Cebes has an enigma of his own (§ 3), *τί ἀγαθόν, τί κακόν, τί οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.* When the *Tabula* proper is concluded, Cebes and his friends make inquiry concerning this and ask an explanation (§ 36). The argument both before—cf. Plato *Apol. Socr.* § 17 (i. p. 29), quoted by Jerram, *Intr.* p. xxx. and in Plut. p. 108—and here (*Tab.* § 36 f) is founded upon statements which occur in this treatise of Plutarch.

Step by step the argument proceeds in Cebes until the following is found in § 38, *Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κακόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι πολλάκις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν.* As may be supposed much is said by Plutarch on this point by way of consolation to Apollonius. Out of many statements connected therewith, for my present purpose I select this:

p. 115] *Κἀκεῖνος ὑπολαβών, Ὡς ἄρα μὴ γίνεσθαι μέν, ἔφη, ἄριστον πάντων, τὸ δὲ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἐστι κρεῖττον...καὶ τί τὸ πάντων* αἱρετώτατον*...ἄριστον γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις τὸ* μὴ γενέσθαι *κ.τ.λ.*

The point did not escape the observation of Hermas, for in the explanation of *his* enigma he writes in *Vis.* iv. 2. 6, 3. 1 *οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ* παρακούσαι· *αἱρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι. Καὶ ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων χρωμάτων ὧν εἶχε τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν. ἡ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· Πάλιν περίεργος εἶ κ.τ.λ.* His *οὐαί* shews that he noticed in Plutarch and Cebes the resemblance to Matt. xxvi. 24 which editors of the *Pastor* duly point out. At the back of the language of Hermas as just quoted is *Tab.* § 32 *ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ προστάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον. ὅστις τοίνυν παρ' αὐτά τι ποιεῖ ἢ* παρακούει *ἀπόλλυται κακὸς κακῶς*, with which the *Tabula* proper ends.

Cebes' *κακὸς κακῶς* apparently comes from Plato *Protag.* § 30 (i. p. 345). The particular use of *παρακούειν* is found also in the *Protagoras* and is plainly borrowed by Hermas. Plato writes, *εἴποιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἤκουσας, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ οἴει εἰπεῖν τοῦτο, παρήκουσας· Πρωταγόρας γὰρ ὧδε ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἠρώτων* (p. 330 f.). There are various points of interest relating to Hermas in the *Protagoras*, but which are nothing to my present purpose. I quote this particular because it seems to shew, that as the language of Cebes and Plutarch called up Matt. xxvi. 24 (Mark xiv. 21), so here the language of Cebes in like manner called up Plato.

To return to Plutarch. He says that we ought not to mourn the young as though they were deprived of good things:

p. 115] *τοῦτο γὰρ ἄδηλον, ὃς* πολλάκις εἴπομεν, *εἴτ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστερημένοι τυγχάνουσιν, εἴτε κακῶν. πολλῷ γὰρ πλείονα*

τὰ κακά. καὶ τὰ μὲν μόγις καὶ διὰ πολλῶν φροντίδων κτώμεθα, τὰ δὲ κακὰ πάνυ ῥαδίως. Στρογγύλα γὰρ εἶναί φασι ταῦτα καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα φερόμενα κατὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας· τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ διεχῆ τε καὶ δυσκόλως συνερχόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου τοῖς τέρμασιν. Ἐπιλελησμένοις [*al.* Ἐπιδεδανεισμένοις] οὖν ἐοίκαμεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον (ὥς φησιν Εὐριπίδης), Τὰ χρήματ' οὐκ ἴδια κεκτῆνται βρότοι, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδέν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων λέγειν χρή·

Τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα·
Ὅταν δὲ χρῄζωσ', αὖτ' ἀφαιροῦνται πάλιν.

οὐ δεῖ οὖν δυσφορεῖν ἐάν, ἃ ἔχρησαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὀλίγον, ταῦτα ἀπαιτῶσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τραπεζῖται (καθάπερ εἰώθαμεν λέγειν πολλάκις) ἀπαιτουμένων τὰ θέματα δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδόσει, ἐάνπερ εὐγνωμονῶσι. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οὐκ εὐμαρῶς ἀποδιδόντας εἰκότως ἄν τις εἴποι· Ἐπελάθου ὅτι ταῦτ' ἔλαβες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποδοῦναι; τοῦτο δὴ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἅπασι συμβέβηκεν. ἔχομεν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν, ὥσπερ παρακαταθεμένοις θεοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τούτου χρόνος οὐδεὶς ὡρισμένος τῆς ἀποδόσεως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς τραπεζίταις τῆς τῶν θεμάτων, ἀλλ' ἄδηλον πότε ὁ δοὺς ἀπαιτήσει. ὁ οὖν ἢ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ τέκνων ἀποθανόντων, ὑπεραγανακτῶν, πῶς οὐ καταφανῶς ἐπιλέλησται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ τέκνα θνητὰ ἐγέννησεν;

Plutarch's στρογγύλα κακά attract one's attention. Round things roll about. Cebes accordingly pictures Τύχη as standing ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στρογγύλου (§ 7). She goes about everywhere, taking away from some and giving to others; παρὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀφαιρεῖται παραχρῆμα ἃ δέδωκε. The rolling stone indicates her nature, for οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς οὐδὲ βεβαία ἐστὶν ἡ παρ' αὐτῆς δόσις.

Senex points again to fickle Fortune on her round stone in *Tab.* § 30, and he goes on to say (§ 31), that the Deity, Ταύτῃ κελεύει μὴ πιστεύειν καὶ βέβαιον μηδὲν νομίζειν μηδὲ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν παρ' αὐτῆς τις λάβῃ, μηδὲ ὡς ἴδια ἡγεῖσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ κελεύει πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι· πολλάκις γὰρ τοῦτο εἴωθε ποιεῖν...διὰ τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Δαιμόνιον κελεύει μὴ θαυμάζειν ὅ τι ἂν πράττῃ αὕτη, μηδὲ γίγνεσθαι ὁμοίους τοῖς κακοῖς τραπεζίταις. These when they receive

money on deposit rejoice, *καὶ ἴδιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπαιτῶνται, ἀγανακτοῦσι,...οὐ μνημονεύοντες, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλαβον τὰ θέματα, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κωλύειν τὸν θέμενον πάλιν κομίσασθαι.* Men should remember that it is the nature of Τύχη to give and take away at random. They should receive what she gives, and go off at once *πρὸς τὴν βεβαίαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ δόσιν*, the true Ἐπιστήμη which they may have from Παιδεία (§ 32), who stands *οὐκ ἐπὶ στρογγύλου λίθου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τετραγώνου, ἀσφαλῶς κειμένου* (§ 18).

From the foregoing it appears that Cebes and Plutarch are not independent of one another, and that Cebes is the later writer. Not only does Plutarch's formal citation of the lines of Euripides (*Phoen.* 565 f.) prove this, but also, and indeed still more, the πολλάκις γὰρ εἰώθειν of Cebes, which refers to Τύχη, whereas Plutarch's *καθάπερ εἰώθαμεν πολλάκις λέγειν* refers to himself. Various examples of the same mode of speech may be found in Plutarch, cf. p. 2 *λέγειν εἰώθαμεν*. On Τύχη in Plutarch, instead of *οἱ θεοί* as in this tract, see below (B § 5, p. 25).

Hermas in *Vis.* iii and *Sim.* ix, following the example of Cebes, contrasts round and square stones in a symbolical way; and in *Mand.* iii., with reference we may suppose to Cebes, Philo and others, he discourses on the spirit of man as a sort of deposit which should be returned *ἄψευστον* as it was received.

In his note on *Tab.* § 19 *ἀνεπλήσθη* (p. 35) Jerram quotes from Plato *Phaed.* § 11 (i. p. 66), and on *Tab.* § 35 (*Introd.* p. xxx.) from *Apol. Soc.* § 17 (i. 29). The two passages of Plato come together in Plutarch (p. 108). This in itself of course makes a note of connexion between Cebes and this treatise of Plutarch. Plutarch uses *ἀναπίμπλημι* twice—once in quoting Plato, and once just before the quotation. Cebes in § 19 seems to combine both uses. Diogenes in Plut. p. 107 being at the point of death, the *ἰατρός* rouses him and asks, *μή τι περὶ αὐτὸν εἴη χαλεπόν*. He replies, and the passage continues thus:

p. 108] *...τὸ γὰρ μὴ δεδουλῶσθαι* [*al. τὸ γὰρ ἀδούλωτον τῇ*] *σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι ταύτης διάγειν, ὑφ' ὧν κατασπώμενος ὁ νοῦς τῆς θνητῆς ἀναπίμπλαται φλυαρίας, εὐδαιμόν τι καὶ μακάριον. μυρίας γὰρ ἡμῖν, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων...μηδ' ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς*

αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς. καὶ οὕτως μὲν καθαροὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνης *κ.τ.λ.*

The quotation from *Apol. Socr.* follows directly.

Cebes in § 14 speaks of *ἀφροσύνη* and *ἡ λοιπὴ κακία* as imbibed from *Ἀπάτη*. So long as men remain with *Ψευδοπαιδεία, οὐδέποτε ἀπολυθήσονται κ.τ.λ.* In § 19 he compares a man *φιλοτίμως κάμνων* and attended by an *ἰατρός*, who makes it his business to get rid of *τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα* by means of cathartics. So *Παιδεία* must dose a man with her *δύναμις* and purge him of *ἄγνοια* and all the other evils *ὧν ἀνεπλήσθη ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ. Ὅταν οὖν καθαρθῇ, ποῖ αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει; Ἔνδον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρετάς* (§ 20). These lead him to *Εὐδαιμονία* (§ 21), and εὐδαίμων *γίγνεται* καὶ μακάριος (§ 23).

I shall give one more illustration out of Plut. *Consol. ad Apollonium.* I have shewn in my first paper how closely Herm. *Vis.* iii. 8 is connected with *Tab.* § 20. There are three other points of interest belonging to *Vis.* iii. 8 which seem to me to owe their origin to Plutarch.

(1) Hermas in *Vis.* iii. 8. 9 says of Ecclesia:

ἐπερώτων δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν καιρῶν, *εἰ ἤδη συντέλειά ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ ἀνέκραγε φωνῇ* μεγάλῃ λέγουσα· *Ἀσύνετε ἄνθρωπε, οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν πύργον ἔτι οἰκοδομούμενον; ὡς ἐὰν οὖν συντελεσθῇ ὁ πύργος οἰκοδομούμενος,* ἔχει τέλος.

Compare in Plutarch:

p. 105] *Θηραμένης δὲ... συμπεσούσης* τῆς οἰκίας *... μόνος σωθείς, καὶ πρὸς πάντων εὐδαιμονιζόμενος,* ἀναφωνήσας μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ· *Ὦ τύχη (εἶπεν) εἰς τίνα με* καιρὸν *ἄρα φυλάττεις; μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καταστρεβλωθεὶς... ἐτελεύτησεν.*

This singular coincidence from Plut. p. 105 follows, in this paper, one from p. 107 f., in which Cebes seems to have used Plutarch in § 19.

To get a suitable sense out of *ἔχει τέλος* Harmer translates it, "the end cometh"; but that is not according to the usage of the expression, cf. Mark iii. 25, 26. So Herm. *Vis.* iii. 3. 2 *αἱ γὰρ ἀποκαλύψεις αὗται τέλος ἔχουσιν.*

(2, 3) On the other two points in *Vis.* iii. 8 see B §§ 6, 7 (pp. 27, 28).

5. *De Liberis Educandis.* *See also* B § 10, p. 34.

In Plut. p. 115 quoted above (B § 4, p. 21 f.) there is no mention of Τύχη. The *θεοί* there give and take away again. But see in *De Liberis Educandis*:

pp. 5, 6] *Συνελὼν τοίνυν ἐγώ φημι, ...ὅτι ἐν πρῶτον καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τούτοις κεφάλαιον ἀγωγὴ σπουδαία καὶ* παιδεία *νόμιμός ἐστι· καὶ ταῦτα φορὰ καὶ συνεργὰ* πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν *φημί. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπινα καὶ μικρά...Εὐγένεια...Πλοῦτος δὲ τίμιον μέν, ἀλλὰ τύχης κτῆμα· ἐπειδὴ τῶν μὲν ἐχόντων* πολλάκις *ἀφείλετο, κ.τ.λ. Δόξα...Παιδεία δὲ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μόνον ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον καὶ θεῖον... ὁ δὲ λόγος...τύχῃ μὲν ἀνάλωτος,...νόσῳ δ' ἀδιάφθορος, γήρᾳ δ' ἀγήραντος...καὶ ὁ χρόνος τἆλλα πάντα ἀφαιρῶν, τῷ γήρᾳ προστίθησι τὴν* ἐπιστήμην.

Ὁ γε μὴν πόλεμος χειμάρρου δίκην πάντα σύρων καὶ πάντα φέρων, μόνην οὐ δύναται παιδείαν *παρελέσθαι...Στίλπων...εἶπε, πόλεμος γὰρ οὐ λαφυραγωγεῖ ἀρετήν. Σύμφωνος δὲ...ἡ Σωκράτους ἀπόκρισις...ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτόν..., εἰ ἔχοι περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπόληψιν καὶ εἰ νομίζοι τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, Οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφησε, πῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ παιδείας ἔχει· ὡς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐν τούτοις, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τυχηροῖς ἀγαθοῖς κειμένης.*

Ὥσπερ δὲ παραινῶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τέκνων μηδὲν ποιεῖσθαι προὐργιαίτερον, οὕτως αὖ πάλιν φημὶ δεῖν τῆς ἀδιαφθόρου καὶ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης ἔχεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Εὐριπίδης, λέγων,

> *Ἐγὼ δ' ἄκομψος εἰς ὄχλον* δοῦναι *λόγον,*
> *εἰς ἥλικας δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

Here then are the lines of Euripides connected with Τύχη as in Cebes: here Παιδεία leads *πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν*; here Ἐπιστήμη is a gift bestowed, while in Cebes it is a gift from Παιδεία and also a handmaid, who with her associates leads the way to Εὐδαιμονία *καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι* Ἀρεταὶ *πᾶσαι*; and here are the first three of the gifts ascribed to Τύχη by Cebes in § 8, Πλοῦτος *δηλονότι, καὶ δόξα, καὶ εὐγένεια, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ τυραννίδες καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια.* Τέκνα is specially applicable to Plutarch's line of argument in p. 115.

The saying of Socrates on the 'Great King' is from Plato *Gorg.* § 26, i. p. 470...*οὐ γὰρ οἶδα παιδείας ὅπως ἔχει καὶ δικαιοσύνης κ.τ.λ.* In the *Gorgias* *παῖδα*...ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ἐκθρέψας follows. Compare in Herm. *Vis.* iii. 9. 1, 8, 10, *Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα. ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα...τὴν* ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΝ, *ἵνα δικαιωθῆτε... ἵνα σχῆτε ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου...παιδεύειν...* ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ; *παιδεύετε...ἵνα λόγον ἀποδῶ κ.τ.λ.*

Note *inter alia* the use of *περιποιεῖσθαι* in the same tract of Plutarch:

p. 12] *...καὶ παρθένων ἔρωτες καὶ γυναικῶν οἰκοφθορίαι γαμετῶν...Δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς ἔμφρονας πατέρας παρὰ τοῦτον μάλιστα τὸν καιρὸν φυλάττειν...παραδείγματα δεικνύντας, τῶν μὲν διὰ φιληδονίαν συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντων, διὰ δὲ* ΚΑΡΤΕΡΙΑΝ *ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν περιποιησαμένων. Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὥσπερεὶ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰσιν, ἐλπίς τε* ΤΙΜΗΣ *καὶ φόβος τιμωρίας...ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος τροφὴ διανοίας ἐστί· τοῦτον δ' ἀκάθαρτον ἡ* ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ *ποιεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

p. 13] *Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα· ἃ δὲ* ΜΕΛΛΩ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ, *ἀνθρώπινα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς πατέρας ἔγωγε ἀξιῶ τελέως* ΣΚΛΗΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΧΕΙΣ (Herm. *Sim.* ix. 8. 6) *εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ καὶ συγχωρῆσαί τινα τῷ νεωτέρῳ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμιμνήσκειν ὅτι ἐγένοντο νέοι. Καὶ καθάπερ ἰατροὶ τὰ πικρὰ τῶν φαρμάκων τοῖς γλυκέσι χυμοῖς καταμιγνύντες τὴν τέρψιν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον* ΠΑΡΥΛΟΥΝ *εὗρον, οὕτω δεῖ τοὺς πατέρας κ.τ.λ. ὡς τό γε δυσμενὲς καὶ* ΔΥΣΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΚΤΟΝ *μισοτεκνίας οὐ μικρὸν τεκμήριόν ἐστι.*

Compare in Hermas:

(i) *Mand.* iv. 4. 1 f.] *...μήτι ἁμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; Οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, φησίν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μείνῃ τις, περισσοτέραν ἑαυτῷ* ΤΙΜΗΝ *καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Κύριον... ταῦτά σοι ὅσα λαλῶ καὶ* ΜΕΛΛΩ ΛΑΛΕΙΝ, *φύλασσε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν... τοῖς δὲ προτέροις σου παραπτώμασιν ἄφεσις ἔσται, ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.* He has been speaking of what is to be done in the case of adultery.

Sim. v. 2. 1, 3. 3] *...τὴν παραβολήν, ἣν* ΜΕΛΛΩ ΣΟΙ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ *...ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθὸν ποιήσῃς ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσοτέραν καὶ ἔσῃ ἐνδοξότερος παρὰ τῷ*

Θεῷ οὐ ἔμελλες εἶναι. ἐὰν οὖν κ.τ.λ. The use of words here shews that his mind has gone back to *Mand.* iv.

(ii) *Vis.* i. 1. 6 f.] *...ἃ σοι* μέλλω λέγειν*...τί μου καταψεύδῃ, ὦ γύναι, τὰ* πονηρὰ *ταῦτα καὶ* ἀκάθαρτα*; γελάσασά μοι λέγει...ὁ γὰρ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ δίκαια βουλεύεται. ἐν τῷ οὖν δίκαια βουλεύεσθαι αὐτὸν κατορθοῦται ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς... οἱ δὲ πονηρὰ βουλευόμενοι...μάλιστα οἱ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον περιποιούμενοι...οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα κ.τ.λ.*

(iii) *Sim.* vi. 5. 3 f.] *ἡ δὲ τιμωρία κ.τ.λ. αὕτη οὖν ἡ τρυφὴ ...ζωὴν περιποιεῖται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ· αἱ δὲ βλαβεραὶ τρυφαὶ αἱ προειρημέναι βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοῖς* περιποιοῦνται· *ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμένωσι καὶ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς* περιποιοῦνται.

(iv) *Sim.* ix. 26. 2] *...καὶ διαρπάσαντες χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν τὴν* ζωὴν *καὶ ἑαυτοῖς περιποιησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς διακονίας ἧς ἔλαβον διακονῆσαι.*

In *De Lib. Educ.* notice also:

p. 7] *τῶν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀῤῥωστημάτων καὶ παθῶν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη φάρμακόν ἐστι. διὰ γὰρ ταύτην ἔστι καὶ μετὰ ταύτης γνῶναι, τί τὸ καλόν, τί τὸ αἰσχρόν· τί τὸ δίκαιον, τί τὸ ἄδικον· τί τὸ συλλήβδην αἱρετόν, τί φευκτόν* (cf. *De Stoic. Rep.* p. 1042)*...τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, μήτε ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις* πεφυχαρεῖς, *μήτε ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς* περιλύπους *ὑπάρχειν.*

Herm. *Vis.* iii. 8. 1, 12. 2 *περιχαρής*, 10. 6, 7 *περίλυπος... μήποτε πολλὰ αἰτούμενος* βλάψῃς *σου τὴν σάρκα*, cf. Plut. p. 12, where he expounds the Pythagorean *μὴ ἐσθίειν καρδίαν* by *μὴ βλάπτειν ψυχήν, ταῖς φροντίσιν αὐτὴν κατατρύχοντα.*

6. *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis.*

In Herm. *Vis.* iii. 8, Ecclesia and Hermas being the speakers, we read, Θέλεις ἄλλο ἰδεῖν; *κατεπίθυμος ὢν τοῦ θεάσασθαι* περιχαρ�ὴς *ἐγενόμην τοῦ ἰδεῖν.* ἐμβλέψασά *μοι ὑπεμείδιασεν καὶ λέγει μοι·* Βλέπεις *ἐπτὰ γυναῖκας κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου;* Βλέπω, *φημί, κυρία.* Of these Christian Ἀρεταί, as we may call them, she says, *...κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ* ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις. Compare in Plut. *De Stoic. Repugn.*:

p. 1046 f.] *Τὰς ἀρετὰς φησιν* ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις, *οὐ μόνον τῷ τὴν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὸν κατὰ*

μίαν ὁτιοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα κατὰ πάσας ἐνεργεῖν· οὔτ' ἄνδρα φησὶ τέλειον εἶναι τὸν μὴ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἀρετάς, οὔτε πρᾶξιν τελείαν ἥτις οὐ κατὰ πάσας πράττεται τὰς ἀρετάς...ΑΝΔΡΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ...ΔΕΙΛΑΙΝΕΙΝ...εἴπερ οὖν τὸ ἀνδρίζεσθαι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον ἀνδρείᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ δειλαίνειν οἷον δειλίᾳ χρῆσθαι κ.τ.λ.

Hermas calls 'Εγκράτεια, one of his seven Virtues, ΑΝΔΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ, and in *Sim.* ix. 1. 3 he uses ΔΕΙΛΑΙΝΕΙΝ (here only apparently in Plutarch), writing μηδὲν δειλαινόμενος ὡς καὶ τὸ πρότερον, with reference to the previous manifestation to him διὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας of the building of the tower, which is the chief subject of *Vis.* iii. and is specially referred to in § 8.

7. *Quomodo possit Adulator ab Amico internosci.*

Herm. *Vis.* iii. 8. 2 ΕΜΒΛΕΨΑΣΑ ΜΟΙ ΥΠΕΜΕΙΔΙΑΣΕΝ. The question is asked (Gebh. & Harn.), *Quid sibi vult risus?* Plutarch shall explain this. In *De Adulatore et Amico* he writes:

p. 62] ὁ γὰρ τοῦ φίλου τρόπος, ὥσπερ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας μῦθος, ἁπλοῦς ἐστι κατ' Εὐριπίδην καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄπλαστος... ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσιν ὁ μὲν φίλος ἔστιν ὅτε μήτε εἰπὼν μήτε ἀκούσας μηδέν, ἀλλὰ προσβλέψας καὶ μειδιάσας, τὸ εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔνδοθεν διδοὺς ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ δεξάμενος, παρῆλθεν,...οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι πολλὰ παραλείπουσιν οἱ φίλοι κ.τ.λ.

p. 69] Plutarch quotes Eurip. *Ion* 732,

Εἰς ὄμματ' εὔνου φωτὸς ἐμβλέψαι γλυκύ.

Compare *Tab.* § 20 Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ἔσω τῆς πύλης χορὸν γυναικῶν, ὡς...στολὴν ἀτρύφερον καὶ ἁπλῆν ἔχουσιν· ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἄπλαστοί εἰσι...; These women are Ἐπιστήμη and her 'sisters,' Ἐγκράτεια and the rest, and 'the Mother' is Εὐδαιμονία (§ 21). Two of the seven women in Herm. *Vis.* iii. 8 are Ἐγκράτεια and Ἐπιστήμη. Ἐγκράτεια is θυγάτηρ τῆς Πίστεως, the others are θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων, and ὅταν τὰ ἔργα τῆς ΜΗΤΡΟΣ αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι ζῆσαι.

In Hermas, as quoted at the beginning of B § 6 (p. 27), note the stress laid upon seeing by repetition of the idea five times.

On the former page in Plutarch, and before and after it, there is another characteristic of a friend which Hermas adopts:

p. 61] *ὁ μὲν φίλος ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι πάρεστι* σύμβουλος *κ.τ.λ.*

p. 62] *ἔπειτα τῶν μὲν φίλων οὐδεὶς γίνεται* συνεργός, *εἰ μὴ γένηται* σύμβουλος *πρότερον.*

p. 64] συνεργεῖν *γὰρ δεῖ τῷ φίλῳ, μὴ* συμπανουργεῖν· *καὶ* συμβουλεύειν *κ.τ.λ.*

Hermas in *Sim.* v. has *τοὺς φίλους οὓς εἶχε συμβούλους* (2. 6); *καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν* συμβούλων (4. 1): *οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ* σύμβουλοι (5. 3); σύμβουλον *τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους bis* (6. 4, 7), and *συγκοπιάσασαν καὶ* συνεργήσασαν between (6. 6).

The Church in Hermas does not always wear a smile, but often plays the part of the "faithful" friend. Plutarch's *συμπανουργεῖν* is not in *Hermae Pastor*, but in *Sim.* v. 5. 1 she says, *Εἰπόν σοι, φησί, καὶ ἄρτι, ὅτι* πανοῦργος *εἶ καὶ αὐθαδής, ἐπερωτῶν κ.τ.λ.* In *Sim.* v. 4. 2 she says, *Αὐθάδης εἶ λίαν εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν κ.τ.λ.* By the word *αὐθάδης* there hangs a tale. It is not found again in Hermas except in *Sim.* ix. 22, where it occurs along with *αὐθάδεια*. This word occurs in Plutarch's treatise now in hand. Using Plato's *Epist.* iv. p. 321, he says:

p. 69] *...παρακελευομένου φυλάττεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὡς ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικον.* Plutarch uses *αὐθάδεια* again in p. 808 with the same reference, see B § 8, p. 31.

I began the examination of this treatise of Plutarch with p. 62, and I have quoted the opening sentence of Herm. *Sim.* ix. 22. Just before, near the end of chap. 21, I notice, *...διὰ τὴν* δειλίαν *αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν.* I return to Plutarch:

p. 62] *...ὅθεν, εἰ μὴ λανθάνομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντες,* ἀναισχυντοῦντες, ἀποδειλιῶντες, *οὐ λήσεται ἡμᾶς ὁ κόλαξ.*

Cebes in § 16 says that *Ἐγκράτεια* and *Καρτερία* exhort the climbers *μὴ* ἀποδειλιᾶν, and in § 27 *οἱ δὲ* ἀποδεδειλιακότες *κ.τ.λ.* The reason of a man's failure is that, *Οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ᾔδει...ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε κ.τ.λ.* (§ 25). In the language of Hermas he was *δίψυχος*. So in Cebes as in Hermas *οἱ δίψυχοι διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν* fail in endurance.

On p. 61 of Plutarch I observe another passage worth putting side by side with Cebes. *Tab.* § 9 shews four women, *Ἀκρασία*, *Ἀσωτία*, *Ἀπληστία*, *Κολακεία*, who, when men have received anything from *Τύχη*, pounce upon them *καὶ* κολακεύουσι

καὶ ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐταῖς μένειν, λέγουσαι ὅτι βίον ἔξουσιν ἡδύν τε καὶ ἄπονον καὶ κακοπάθειαν ἔχοντα οὐδεμίαν. ἐὰν οὖν τις πεισθῇ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν, μέχρι μέν τινος ἡδεῖα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ διατριβὴ ἕως ἂν γαργαλίζῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κ.τ.λ.

Compare in Plutarch:

p 56] ἐν δὲ ταῖς κολακείαις ὁρᾶν χρὴ καὶ παραφυλάττειν ἀσωτίαν μέν...καὶ δειλίαν...μικρολογίαν δέ, κ.τ.λ.

p. 61] ὁ δὲ κόλαξ τῷ παθητικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ παρακάθηται, καὶ τοῦτο κνᾷ καὶ γαργαλίζει καὶ ἀναπείθει καὶ ἀφίστησι τοῦ λογισμοῦ, μηχανώμενος αὐτῷ πονηράς τινας ἡδυπαθείας.

p. 136] ...μέσον ἡδυπαθείας καὶ κακοπαθείας.

From this comparison it appears that the evil women of Cebes are the κόλακες of Plutarch. I have shewn that Cebes and Hermas are connected at this point. Is there anything, we may ask, to suggest that the passage from Plut. p. 61 just quoted passed under the eye of Hermas? I think this can hardly be disputed. The passage begins ὁ δὲ κόλαξ. This responds to ὁ μὲν φίλος ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι πάρεστι σύμβουλος, words which I have just shewn (p. 29) to have been used by Hermas. In truth the κόλαξ of Plutarch is the διάβολος (the word stands here in Plutarch) of Hermas. With the passages from Herm. *Mand.* v., xii. quoted below compare in Plutarch:

p. 61] διάβολον...ὁ δὲ κόλαξ...ὥσπερ...μήτε νεύροις τινὰ τόνον...προστίθησιν...φοβῇ; φύγωμεν.

pp. 60, 74] εἰς μικρολογίαν...μικρολογίας καὶ φιλαργυρίας.

p. 59] ...οὕτω τὸν κόλακα, τοῖς τοῦ φίλου...μόνην τὴν παρρησίαν, ὥσπερ ἐξαίρετον βάσταγμα φιλίας, "Βριθύ, μέγα, στιβαρόν" (*Iliad* xvi. 141), καταλιπεῖν ἄθικτον...οἶμαι δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐν κωμωδίᾳ Μενάνδρου Ψευδηρακλῆς πρόσεισι, ῥόπαλον κομίζων, οὐ στιβαρόν, οὐδ' ἰσχυρόν, ἀλλὰ χαῦνόν τι πλάσμα καὶ διάκενον, οὕτω τὴν τοῦ κόλακος παρρησίαν φανεῖσθαι...καὶ τόνον οὐκ ἔχουσαν...ὥσπερ ἡ κίβδηλος αὕτη παρρησία κενὸν ἔχουσα...ὄγκον ...Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθὴς καὶ φιλικὴ παρρησία...ὥσπερ τὸ μέλι τὰ ἡλκωμένα δάκνουσα καὶ καθαίρουσα, τἆλλα δ' ὠφέλιμος οὖσα καὶ γλυκεῖα, περὶ ἧς ἴδιος ἔσται λόγος· ὁ δὲ κόλαξ πρῶτον μὲν ἐνδείκνυται τὸ πικρὸς εἶναι...καὶ διάβολος ἐν τῷ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἑτέρους παροξύνειν...ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀληθινῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν εἰδέναι προσποιούμενος κ.τ.λ. (Cp. *Tab.* § 35

οὐ προσποιοῦνται ἐπίστασθαι ἃ οὐκ οἴδασιν...ὃ προσποιοῦνταί γε ἐπίστασθαι οὐκ οἴδασιν.)

Much of this reappears *mutatis mutandis* in Herm. *Mand.* v., xii., as indicated briefly below:

xii. 4. 7] *ὁ* ΔΙΆΒΟΛΟΣ *μόνον φόβον ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φόβος αὐτοῦ* ΤΌΝΟΝ *οὐκ ἔχει* ΜῊ ΦΟΒΉΘΗΤΕ...ΦΕΎΞΕΤΑΙ.

xii. 6. 2] ...ΤΟΥ̃ ΔΙΑΒΌΛΟΥ...ΆΤΟΝΟΣ ΓΆΡ ἘΣΤΙΝ ὥΣΠΕΡ ΝΈΚΡΟΥ ΝΕΥ̃ΡΑ.

v. 2. 2—4] *καὶ...ἐν* ΠΙΚΡΙᾷ *γίνεται* [*al. πικραίνεται*]...*ἢ περὶ...*ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ *τινός...ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα...κενὰ καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἡ δὲ μακροθυμία μεγάλη ...καὶ ἰσχυρὰν δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ στιβαράν* κ.τ.λ.

v. 1. 3—5] *...ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀξυχολίᾳ ὁ διάβολος...ἐὰν γὰρ λαβὼν ἀψινθίου μικρὸν λίαν εἰς κεράμιον* ΜΈΛΙΤΟΣ κ.τ.λ.

There are a few more points in this treatise of Plutarch which might be noticed. I think however the foregoing pages suffice to shew that Cebes and Hermas made use of it.

8. *Praecepta gerendae Reipublicae.*

In his *Praecepta gerend. Reipubl.* Plutarch recurs to the Platonic saying on *αὐθάδεια* (B § 7, p. 29), thus:

p. 808] *αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὕφεσις οὐχ ἧττον ἐπικοσμεῖ* ΤΩΝ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΜΈΝΩΝ ΤΟῪΣ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥ̃ΝΤΑΣ· *ἡ δὲ αὐθάδεια* (*φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων*) ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικος.

Plato himself writes at the end of *Epist.* iv.:

ἡμεῖς δὲ...πολλὰ ἀκούοντες περὶ τῶν τῇδε οὐδὲν ἴσμεν. *ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖς τισὶν ἐνδεεστέρως τοῦ προσήκοντος θεραπευτικὸς εἶναι. μὴ οὖν λανθανέτω σε ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ* ΑΛΗΘΆΔΕΙΑ ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικος. Εὐτύχει.

Compare in Herm. *Sim.* ix. 22. 1 f.:

...δυσμαθεῖς δὲ καὶ ΑΛΗΘΆΔΕΙΣ *καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντες, θέλοντες πάντα γινώσκειν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως γινώσκουσι. διὰ δὲ τὴν* ΑΛΗΘΆΔΕΙΑΝ *αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ σύνεσις, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφροσύνη μωρά.* ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥ̃ΣΙ ΔῈ ἙΑΥΤΟῪΣ... *διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑψηλοφροσύνην πολλοὶ* ἐΚΕΝΏΘΗΣΑΝ *ὑψοῦντες ἑαυτούς· μέγα γὰρ δαιμόνιόν ἐστιν ἡ* ΑΛΗΘΆΔΕΙΑ *καὶ ἡ κενὴ πεποίθησις...τινὲς δὲ...ὑπέταξαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσι σύνεσιν. γνόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην.*

I think I may say without hesitation that Hermas used Plato. "Notice the laboured way in which he brings out the thought of *ἡ δὲ αὐθάδεια ἐρημία ξύνοικος*." But now look back to *Sim.* v. 4. 2 f. quoted above (p. 29), where *αὐθάδης* first appears, ΑΥΘΑΔΗΣ *εἶ λίαν εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν...λέγω αὐτῷ, Κύριε,... μάτην ἔσομαι ἑωρακὼς αὐτὰ* ΜΗ ΝΟΩΝ ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ...*εἰς μάτην ἔσομαι ἀκηκοώς τι παρά σου. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη μοι λέγων· Ὃς ἂν...αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν κ.τ.λ.* Here he takes up Plato's *πολλὰ ἀκούοντες οὐδὲν ἴσμεν...αὐθάδεια*, and glances at the line of thought worked out in *Sim.* ix. But inasmuch as *Sim.* v. *l.c.* immediately follows his *τῶν φίλων τῶν συμβούλων*, borrowed as it seems from Plutarch, we must needs conclude that Hermas reached Plato through the instrumentality of Plutarch. The one inference of course strengthens the other.

9. *De tuenda Sanitate Praecepta.*

Plutarch's *De Sanitate* supplies parallels to some things in the *Tabula* and the *Pastor*:

p. 135] *ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσων, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι παθών, τὰ μικρὰ δεῖν* ΑΔΙΚΕΙΝ, *ἔλεγεν, ἕνεκεν τοῦ τὰ μέγαλα* ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΡΑΓΕΙΝ. *ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εὐλόγως τῷ πολιτικῷ παραινέσαιμεν τὰ μικρὰ ῥᾳθυμεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν, καὶ* ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕΙΝ (p. 136 ΔΙΑΝΑΠΑΥΟΥΣΙ) *αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις, εἰ βούλεται πρὸς τὰς* ΚΑΛΑΣ *πράξεις καὶ μεγάλας μὴ διάπονον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ.*

Cebes writes in § 41, *Ἀλλ'...οὐδὲ* ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΡΑΓΕΙΝ *οὐκ ἔστι κτήσασθαι ἐκ κακῶν ἔργων, ὠσαύτως δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ* ΑΔΙΚΕΙΝ...*ἐκ καλῶν ἔργων.* And in § 16 ...*μὴ ἀποδειλιᾶν*, λέγουσαι...*εἶτα κελεύουσιν αὐτοὺς* ΔΙΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ. *καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν διδόασιν ἰσχύν...καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς ἔστι* ΚΑΛΗ *κ.τ.λ.* In the parallel in *Sim.* ix. 5. 1 Hermas has *ἀναπαυθῆναι.*

Jason's dictum is quoted again by Plutarch (p. 817 f.). It is quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 12. 31), who however does not use *δικαιοπραγεῖν* there. Cebes applies Plutarch's precepts *De Sanitate Tuenda* to the mind instead of the body. We shall presently see that Hermas does the same. If we turn back a page from *Tab.* § 41 we find several references to health and disease which, with § 31 f., should be placed alongside the language of Plutarch:

p. 135] *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέραις ἐπιμελείαις* ΔΙΑΣΩΣΤΕΟΝ *ἐστὶ τῷ*

σώματι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἕξιν, ὡς παντὸς βίου καὶ νόσον *δεχομένου καὶ ὑγίειαν...οὗ* Πλάτων παρήνει τοῖς νέοις. *ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἀπαλλαττόμενος εἰώθει· "Αγε, ὅπως εἰς καλόν τι καταθήσεσθε τὴν σχολήν, ὦ παῖδες.*

p. 137] οὐ μνημονεύοντες, *ὅτι τοῖς ὑγιεινοῖς καὶ ὠφελίμοις ἡ φύσις ἡδονὴν ἄλυπον καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον προστίθησιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δεῖ* μνημονεύειν, *τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ πρόσφορα τῷ σώματι, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὥραν μεταβολαῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις* περιστάσεσιν, *εἰδότας οἰκείως προσαρμόττειν ἑκάστῳ τὴν δίαιταν.*

The parallels in Cebes are:

Tab. § 31] *οὐ* μνημονεύοντες...*ὡσαύτως τοίνυν κελεύει...τὸ Δαιμόνιον...καὶ* μνημονεύειν, *ὅτι τοιαύτην ἔχει φύσιν ἡ Τύχη... καὶ...ἀπελθεῖν ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν βεβαίαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ δόσιν.*

ib. § 32] ...*ἣν λήψονται παρὰ τῆς* Παιδείας, *ἣν* διασωθῶσιν *ἐκεῖ...ἡ ἀληθὴς Ἐπιστήμη, ἔφη, τῶν συμφερόντων, καὶ ἀσφαλὴς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμεταμέλητος...Ἀκρασία καὶ Ἡδυπάθεια ...κελεύει συντόμως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι...χρόνον τινὰ* ἐνδιατρῖψαι, *καὶ λαβεῖν...*

ib. § 33] *γράμματα κ.τ.λ. ἃ καὶ* Πλάτων *φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν* τοῖς νέοις.

ib. § 38] *οὐκοῦν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ* γιαίνειν καὶ νοσεῖν. *πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ συμφέρει ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ* τοὐναντίον, *ὅταν ᾖ ἡ* περίστασις *τοιαύτη.*

See lastly in the *De Sanitate*:

p. 134] ...*ταῖς πλησμοναῖς οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἀνιώμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως τὴν μὲν πλήρωσιν ὡς κώλυσιν ἀπολαύσεως βαρυνόμενοι, τὴν δ' ἔνδειαν ὡς χώραν ἀεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παρασκευάζοντες. τὸ γὰρ* βλαβερὸν *ἐν τούτοις προῦπτόν ἐστι. ταραχάς τε γὰρ ἀμφότερα τῷ σώματι παρέχεται... γίνονται γὰρ αἱ πειναὶ κ.τ.λ. δυνάμεις ἄλλας* ἀσυγκρίτους (= ἀσυγκράτους in the judgment of some critics)...*οὕτως οἱ μετὰ φαρμάκων ἔμετοι* λυμαίνονται *τὰ* σώματα καὶ διαφθείρουσιν.

And compare in Herm. *Vis.* iii. 9. 3—8:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἀσθένειαν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισπῶνται καὶ λυμαίνονται τὴν σάρκα αὐτῶν· τῶν δὲ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐδέσματα λυμαίνεται *ἡ σάρξ αὐτῶν...καὶ* διαφθείρεται *τὸ* σῶμα *αὐτῶν. αὕτη οὖν ἡ* ἀσυγκρασία (ἅπ. λεγ. apparently)

βλαβερὰ *ὑμῖν...βλέπετε τὴν* κρίσιν...*οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ* φάρμακα...*καὶ* συγκεράσαι *ὑμῶν τὴν φρόνησιν κ.τ.λ.* (Cf. Plut. 5 *νόσῳ δ'* ἀδιάφθορος *γήρᾳ δ'* ἀλύμαντος, quoted on p. 25.)

His use of *κρίσιν* and *συγκεράσαι* is to be noticed. In *Mand.* vii. 1. 1 he uses *ἀσύγκριτος*, and he follows it with *δύναμις* over and over again. His language above shews that he had pharmacy in mind.

10. *Conclusion.*

I shall conclude my comparison, so far as this paper is concerned, of Cebes and Hermas with Plutarch by shewing two more examples of Hermas' seeming use of Plutarch, one of which is of more than common interest I think. The passages of Plutarch are as below, the former from the tract *De Liberis Educandis*, the latter from *De Alex. Magni Virtute aut Fortuna*:

p. 2] *Καταμάθοις δ' ἄν, ὡς ἀνύσιμον πρᾶγμα καὶ τελεσιουργὸν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος ἐστίν, ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπιβλέψας.* Σταγόνες μὲν γὰρ ὕδατος πέτρας κοιλαίνουσι· *σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς ταῖς ἐπαφαῖς τῶν χειρῶν ἐκτρίβονται...Ἀγαθὴ γῆ πέφυκεν· ἀλλ'* ἀμεληθεῖσα χερσεύεται (p. 10 *γῆν* κεχερσωμένην), *καὶ ὅσῳ τῇ φύσει βελτίων ἐστί, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ἐξαργηθεῖσα, δι' ἀμέλειαν ἐξαπόλλυται...Ποῖα δὲ δένδρα οὐκ, ὀλιγωρηθέντα μέν, στρεβλὰ φύεται, καὶ ἄκαρπα καθίσταται, τυχόντα δὲ ὀρθῆς παιδαγωγίας κ.τ.λ.*

p. 338] *Λυσίμαχος...εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροψίας ἔφθασε... ὥστε εἰπεῖν· Νῦν Βυζάντιοι πρὸς ἐμὲ ἥκουσιν, ὅτε τῇ λόγχῃ* τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἅπτομαι. *παρὼν δὲ Πασιάδης ὁ Βυζάντιος, Ὑπάγωμεν, ἔφη, μὴ τῇ ἐπιδορατίδι τὸν οὐρανὸν τρυπήσῃ.*

(i) Compare Herm. *Mand.* xi. 18—20:

Ἄκουσον οὖν τὴν παραβολήν, ἣν μέλλω σοι λέγειν· Λάβε λίθον καὶ βάλε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἴδε εἰ δύνασαι ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ· ἢ πάλιν λάβε σίφωνα *ὕδατος καὶ σιφώνισον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἴδε εἰ δύνασαι* τρυπῆσαι τὸν οὐρανόν...*λάβε νῦν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐρχομένην, ἡ χάλαζα...ἡ πάλιν λάβε* σταγόνα, *ἣ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμου* πίπτει χαμαὶ καὶ τρυπᾷ τὸν λίθον.

(ii) For *ἐκτρίβειν* in Hermas see *Mand.* x. 1. 2—3, 2. 1—2; *Sim.* vi. 1. 4.

(iii) With Plut. p. 2 compare also in Hermas:

Mand. x. 1. 4 f.] *...καὶ καταφθείρονται καὶ γίνονται* κεχερωμένοι. *καθὼς οἱ ἀμπελῶνες οἱ καλοί, ὅταν ἀμελείας τύχωσι, χερσοῦνται κ.τ.λ.*

Sim. ix. 26. 3 f.] *...ἀλλὰ* χερωθέντες *καὶ γενόμενοι ἐρημώδεις κ.τ.λ. ὡς γὰρ ἄμπελος ἐν φραγμῷ τινι καταλειφθεῖσα,* ἀμελείαι τυγχάνουσα, *καταφθείρεται...οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι...γίνονται ἄχρηστοι τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῶν ἀγριωθέντες.*

There are few passages in Hermas more thoroughly illustrative of my whole subject than the foregoing. The conclusion previously reached that Hermas used Plutarch is confirmed and can hardly, I think, be escaped. There is the use also of Cebes, and this in a most interesting way.

"What are the real relations between the *Tabula* and the *Pastor*? Why do they meet in the same pages of Plutarch? The answer seems to me to be evident enough. Nevertheless I wish for further consideration of this interesting point before giving a definite answer."

[J. M. COTTERILL.]

Notes on A and B.

A § 1, p. 16] *Tab.* § 33*...ἃ καὶ* Πλάτων *φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς νέοις, ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ.* This being "from Plato's latest work the *Laws*" (Jerram, p. x f), the author of the *Tablet* was presumably not the Theban Cebes. Cotterill gives reason to think that he used the *Phaedo* as a 'falsarius' who knew, used and imitated Plato's works might have done.

A § 2, p. 17] Under *ψευδοδοξία* the lexicons refer to Strabo 680 *οὐ καθαρευόντων τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀλιζώνων ψευδοδοξίας.* The personified Pseudodoxy being so suitable in the *Tabula*, it was only natural that the author should adopt the word. If it had not been already in use he might have coined

it for his own purposes, as (probably) he coined *Ψευδοπαιδεία*. The parallel in Sextus does not seem to me to throw any light upon *Tab.* § 11 f., which may on the contrary have led up to the later writer's *πολλῶν καὶ εἰκαιοτέρων ψευδοδοξίαν*.

But here again our Cebes may have used Plutarch, who writes in ii 716 B *Οἱ δὲ τὴν πανουργίαν δεινότητα, καὶ φρόνησιν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ψευδοδοξίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν, κ.τ.λ.* The mistake of Pseudodoxy there for its opposite may have suggested that of *Ψευδοπαιδεία* for *Παιδεία* in the *Tabula*, which Hermas again converted into his mistake of the Church for the Sibyl, the true *Παιδεία* for the false.

A § 3, p. 17] If *ἀντιφάρμακον* had been found in Arist. *Mirab.* 86 only, its use with *θηρία* in the *Tabula* would not have been very surprising; but it may have been familiar in connexion with the *ἐχιόδηκτοι*. (On the reading see Praechter.) Having regard further to its association with *οὐ λυπεῖ...οὐδὲν λυπεῖ*, I would suggest that in *Tab.* § 26 we have again an allusion to Plutarch's *Consol. ad Apollonium*, *Κράτιστον δὴ πρὸς ἀλυπίαν φάρμακον ὁ λόγος* (§ 6, 103 F), *φάρμακον ἀλυπίας* (§ 25, 114 C), *πρὸς ἀλυπίαν φαρμάκοις* (§ 32, 118 C). A *φάρμακον ἀλυπίας* is an *ἀντιφάρμακον* to *λύπη*.

B § 3, p. 20] Plut. *καθεζόμενον...*, Herm. *καθίσαντος κτέ.* Cotelier on Herm. *Vis.* v. 1 cites Tertullian on the puerility of making this a precedent; Pindar and Plutarch as witnesses with him to a heathen custom of sitting down after prayer; and Jerome as remarking that some were over curious to find scriptural authority for all their doings. From Pindar, in this connexion, he quotes *Isthm.* 6,

ὡς ἄρα εἰπών, αὐτίκα | ἕζετο.

In Plutarch he refers to an ordinance of Numa of the 'Pythagorean' sort, *Ut sedeatur postquam adoratum fuerit*, and to the practice as still prevailing, thus:

(1) *Vit. Num.* § 14, i p. 70 *...καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσαντας...Τὸ δὲ καθέζεσθαι προσκυνήσαντας οἰωνισμὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τοῦ κτέ.*

(2) *Quaest. Roman.* § 25, ii p. 270 *Ἡ καθάπερ ἔτι νῦν προσευξάμενοι καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιμένειν καὶ καθιζειν εἰώθασιν.*

B § 4, p. 21 f] Οὐαὶ...*αἱρετώτερον κτέ.* By this saying Hermas alludes to the New Testament (Matt., Mark) and other writings. Cf. Menander's,

ζοῆς πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἱρετώτερος,

and Philo *De Post. Caini* (M i 233) *τῆς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν ζωῆς ὁ μετὰ εὐσεβῶν αἱρετώτερος ἂν εἴη θάνατος.* For *παρακούειν* see also *Tab.* § 3...*καὶ μὴ παρακούετε.*

The parallels between Plut. i 115 and the *Tabula* go far to shew Cebes' dependence upon Plutarch. Philo, in agreement with Euripides, teaches in *De Cherub.*, on the authority of Lev. xxv 23, that all created things belong to God, who lends them to men. Men have only the temporary use of them as things *ἀλλότρια*, not excepting their bodily and mental faculties and life itself. Cf. 2 Clem. v 6; Clem. *Strom.* vii 12, P 877; Lucret. iii 971; Herm. *Sim.* i 3 *οὐ νοεῖς ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλότριά ἐστι;* Hermas in *Mand.* iii regards the spirit of man as a *παρακαταθήκη*, to be returned on demand *ἄψευστον* (p. 23). The occurrence of *θέμα* and other 'late words' in the *Tabula* indicates that its author was not the Theban Cebes (Jerram, p. xiii).

Τύχη is used 'in this tract' also (p. 23). In connexion with a note on *Στιγμή* (p. 39) Cotterill quotes from *Consol. ad Ap.* § 5 (ii 103 *fin.*)...*οὐκ ἐνθυμούμενοι τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄστατον καὶ ἀβέβαιον* and the lines which follow there in illustration of the *τῆς τύχης μεταβολαί,*

τροχοῦ περιστείχοντος, ἄλλοθ' ἡτέρα
ἀψὶς ὕπερθε γίγνετ', ἄλλοθ' ἡτέρα.

Tab. § 5 *ποτίζει τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει*, § 19 *π. τήν...π. τῇ*, 'with her *δύναμις*' (p. 24). For the dative Praechter quotes Plut. *Quaest. Conv.*, cf. Herm. *Sim.* viii 2. 9 *ποτισθέντα ὕδατι.*

Diogenes, in reply to the physician (p. 23 f), *Οὐδέν, ἔφη, ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν προλαμβάνει, ὁ ὕπνος τὸν θάνατον. εἴ γε μὴν ἀποδημίᾳ προσέοικεν ὁ θάνατος οὐδ' οὕτως ἐστὶ κακόν· μή ποτε δὲ καὶ τοὐναντίον, ἀγαθόν. τὸ γὰρ ἀδούλωτον κτέ.* Plutarch in i 108 E, F quotes Socrates as saying to the dicasts, that to fear death as knowing it to be an evil *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα*, for no man knows whether it is

an evil or the greatest *πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν*. Cebes likewise in § 35 alludes to *Apol. Socr.* (Jerram, p. xxx), and he goes on to argue that death may be evil or good according to circumstances.

Cotterill further remarks, that the language of Cebes in respect of *ἀφροσύνη* accounts for that of Hermas in *Mand.* iv 2. 1 f, "...for I understand nothing... give me understanding, for I am very foolish and apprehend nothing at all. He answered...Seemeth it not to thee, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετανοῆσαι σύνεσιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοῆσαι, φησί, σύνεσίς ἐστιν μεγάλη.*" Μετάνοια in the *Tabula* is *σύνεσις*, an intellectual conversion from *ἀφροσύνη* to understanding. Hermas repeatedly obtrudes his ignorance, by way of shewing that he is quite free from the *ἀμαθία* of fancying that he knows *ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν.*

B § 5, p. 25 f] For God as the 'Great King' (p. 26 *init.*) see the Psalms, Mal. i (*Did.* xiv 3), Matt. v 35 *the city of the Great King*, etc.

With Herm. *Vis.* iii 9 (p. 26) Cotterill compares Plato, Plut. ii 5 f, and some lines from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. See *Hippol.* 525 *στάζεις πόθον*, 854 *καταχυθέντα* ('*καταχ.* only twice elsewhere in Eurip.'), 947 *ἐναντίον πατρί*, 987 *δοῦναι λόγον* (p. 25), 1078 f *προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον | στανθ', ὡς κτέ.*: *Vis.* iii 9. 1, 2, 10 *στάξαντος τὴν δικαιοσύνην...ἐκ καταχύματος ...ἵνα κἀγὼ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἱλαρὰ σταθεῖσα λόγον ἀποδῶ.* At the end of Herm. *l.c.* he writes, "Notice how the *three* utterances—Stilpo, Socrates and Euripides—meet and mingle in the language of Hermas."

Sim. vi 5. 7 *βλαβεραί* (p. 27), *Tab.* § 37 *βλαβερόν*. Among the gifts of Fortune which may be *ὠφέλιμα* or *βλαβερά* is *τὸ νικᾶν* (ib. §§ 36, 41), cf. Plut. *De Lib. Educ.* § 14 (ii 10 A) *οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἥττασθαι ἐπίστασθαι καλόν, ἐν οἷς τὸ νικᾶν βλαβερόν· ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ νίκη Καδμεία.*

Looking back upon his four subsections on *περιποιεῖσθαι* Cotterill notes that the discussion is unfinished: "I had to shew that Cebes' use (§ 20) is founded on Plutarch, and that Hermas everywhere in the use of the word has Cebes in mind."

(i) Hermas' applications of *δόξαν περιποιεῖσθαι* with *πρὸς Κύριον* and *παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ* are reasonably thought to rest upon

the simple and primary use of the phrase in Plut. 12. It is followed there by *ἐλπίς τε τιμῆς*, and *τιμήν* precedes in *Mand.* iv. With Plut. 13 *πάροδον* cf. *Vis.* ii 2. 7, *Sim.* ix 25. 2 *πάροδος*. "The illustration of mixing bitter with the sweet (Plut. 13) appears presently in *Mand.* v in an inverted form, and in like manner *ἀσύμφορά ἐστι καὶ πονηρά* instead of Plutarch's *καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα*." Plut. 13 *δυσκατάλλακτον* suggests *Vis.* i 1. 8 *εὐκατάλλακτον*.

(ii) Hermas after his manner disintegrates the phrase *δόξαν περιπ.*, writing *ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς...τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον περιποιούμενοι*. With Plut. 12 *ἐλπίς τε τιμῆς καὶ φόβος τιμωρίας* cf. *Vis.* i etc. *ἐλπίδα*, *Sim.* vi *τιμωρία*.

(iii) *Sim.* vi 4. 4 *τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ὥρα ἐστὶ μία...ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰσχύει ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς βασάνου*. Compare the saying of the *κόλακες* urging to *τρυφή* and vice in *De Lib. Educ.* § 17 (ii 13 B), *Στιγμὴ χρόνου πᾶς ὁ βίος ἐστί*. In *Consol. ad Ap.* § 6 (ii 104 B) Plutarch quotes from Euripides,

καὶ μί' ἡμέρα | τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν κτέ,

and adds...*βέλτιον δ' ἂν εἶχεν εἰ μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ στιγμὴν εἶπε χρόνου*. Plutarch proceeds to quote Pindar's *Σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος*, which "might easily suggest Jas. iv 13, a writing confessedly known to Hermas." See also Numb. xiv 34 (cf. Ezek. iv 6). "On this verse Origen cites Hermas."

(iv) 1 Tim. iii 12 f *διάκονοι...καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιοῦνται*. *Sim.* ix *l.c. διάκονοί εἰσι κακῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ διαρπάσαντες...περιποιησάμενοι κτέ*.

B § 7, p. 28] Plutarch inculcates *ἀμνησικακία* in the tract *Quomodo etc.* § 34 and elsewhere (see *μνησικ.* in Wyttenbach's *Index*), and Hermas does likewise.

With *πεισθῇ* (p. 30 *init.*) cf. *Sim.* ix 13. 8 *ἀνεπείσθησαν*.

With apparent allusion *inter alia* to the hollow club in Menander's comedy (p. 30) Hermas has much to say on *κενότης*, cf. *Mand.* v 2, xii 5 *ἀπόκενος*, v 2, xi 3. 11—17 *κενός*, *Sim.* ix (p. 31) *ἐκενώθησαν*, etc.

B § 8, p. 31] Plato's *ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικος* may have suggested the description of the ninth mountain to Hermas, see *Sim.* ix 1. 9 *ὅλον ἐρημῶδες ἦν*, 26. 1 *τοῦ ἐρημώδους...ἐρημώδεις, μὴ*

κολλώμενοι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ (p. 35). For Plato's saying see also Plut. *Vit. Dion.* § 8 (i 961 C).

B § 9, p. 32] Plutarch in *De Lib. Educ.* § 13 (ii 9 C) emphasises the necessity of ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν πόνων, which one may see ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων...καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων.

Plut. νόσον (p. 33 *init.*). Notice the ethical use of the word in *Sim.* vi 5. 5 τῇ ἰδίᾳ νόσῳ κτέ.

Tab. § 32 δόσις...ἀμεταμέλητος (p. 33). So Praechter (*al.* ἀμετάβλητος, Plut. ii 1011 A), cf. Rom. xi 29 ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. The ἀμεταμέλητος of Cebes (J. M. C.) reminded Hermas of 2 Cor. vii 10 κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη...ἀμεταμέλητον...ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη, see *Mand.* x 1. 2 f ἡ λύπη...καταφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν σώζει κτέ.

Vis. iii *l.c.* looks like an adaptation of the passage from Plut. 134 to the body politic, cf. 1 Cor. xii 24 ὁ Θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα. Separateness of rich and poor is βλαβερά (Plut. βλαβερόν): in combination they can help one another, as is shewn in *Sim.* ii on the Elm and the Vine, cf. *Sim.* ix 7. 5. Herm. ἀσυγκρασία, a word not in the lexicons (Steph., L. & S.), may have been suggested by Plut. ἀσύγκρατος, here and ii 418 D, 1112 D. Hermas may also have thought of σύγκρασις as used in Clem. *Cor.* § 37 (on which see Jacobson, Lightfoot, etc.), and Eurip. *Fragm.*,

ἀλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς.

B § 10, p. 34] On Σταγόνες κτέ. Wyttenbach refers to 'H. Junius ad Erasmi Adagia p. 195' [1599], and 'A. Schottus ad Metrica Prov. 110' [Παροιμίαι Ἑλληνικαί, 1612]. See also A. F. Naeke's *Choerili Samii quae supersunt* (Lips. 1817), and Kinkel's *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* in the Teubner series. The saying is best known through the Latin of Lucretius (i, iv) and Ovid, cf. the made up line, half Ovidian,

Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed saepe cadendo.

Naeke's Fragm. 9 of Choerilus is,

Πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ.

By Choerilus in Plut. *Vit. Lysandri* (i p. 443 C) "Choerilus intelligendus est Samius" (Naeke, p. 48). Hermas' τρυπᾶν

for *κοιλαίνειν* is accounted for by Plutarch's *τὸν οὐρανὸν τρυπήσῃ*, quoted on p. 34. Note that they have also *ἅπτεσθαι* in common. But what could have made Hermas think of boring the heaven with water from a siphon? To repeat what I have written elsewhere on *Mand.* xi,

"Dr J. Rendel Harris writes (24th June, 1901) that he was looking at some vines to the south of Rome looped and trained to the elm trees, which he had previously noticed with *Sim.* ii on the Elm and the Vine in mind, 'when the proprietor began squibbing the topmost leaves above his head with an old-fashioned squirt.' In the vineyard Hermas may have noticed also the destructive force of the hailstone... The question *How can these things be*? is asked in John iii 9, and the same chapter illustrates the contrast between the Spirit *coming from above* and that which is *earthly* (ver. 31)."

B § 10, p. 35] *Tab.* § 3 *καταφθείρεται κτέ* accounts for *Sim.* vi 2. 2 *τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν*, and the use of *καταφθείρειν* by Hermas. His parable of the sheep in *Sim.* vi reproduces Cebes' story of Deceit and Retribution, with angels for women.

The arrangement and the form of Dr Cotterill's "extended notes" have to a certain extent been departed from in this article. The notes were not meant for publication exactly as they were written.

C. TAYLOR.

ON MARTIAL VII 79 AND XII 55.

Upon reading over what I wrote on VII 79 in the last number of this Journal, p. 243, I find that it is not explicit enough and may even prove ambiguous; for a reader might easily suppose that I too, like most of the commentators, take 'consulare uinum' to be a phrase of the same sort as 'uinum Opimianum' or 'Anicianum'. I do not: I doubt if such a rendering is even possible; but in explaining or trying to explain the MS text I did the best I could for it, and I adopted from the commentators the hardly legitimate interpretation which necessity has constrained them to devise. It may be well to set forth here the nature of that necessity.

> potaui modo consulare uinum.
> quaeris quam uetus atque liberale?
> IPSO (*lege* PRISCO) consule conditum; sed ipse
> qui ponebat erat, Seuere, consul.

In the MS text the words 'ipso consule', as I said, can only mean 'domino consule', 'when the host was consul'. It follows that 'ipse qui ponebat erat consul', since it cannot be supposed to mean the same thing over again ('consul erat tum cum uinum conditum est'), must mean 'consul erat tum cum uinum potaui'. This therefore cannot have been said already in u. 1, and 'potaui consulare uinum' cannot mean 'I drank wine at a consul's table': it must have some other sense, and the commentators have invented one.

When the poem is emended the phrase regains its natural meaning. 'I drank wine the other day at a consul's table. How old was it, and how generous, do you ask me? It was laid up PRISCO CONSVLE; but my host himself was the consul in question'.

The family β, which has here furnished a clue to the original text in its title *iocus de nomine consulis*, presents at XII 55 another title which itself is something of a puzzle: *de Egle mendilingia*. Mr Landgraf in the Arch. f. Lat. lex. XII p. 456 proposes the singularly inappropriate alteration *uendilingia*, which is precisely what Aegle was not: 'gratis lingere non recusat Aegle' says the text. The form moreover, on the analogy of *nuginendus*, ought to be *linguinenda*. Now in L, the best MS of the family, the title is *de Egle meheli lingia*, and that signifies *menclilingia*. The true form would be *mentulilinga*; but *cunnilingius* is the usual spelling in the titles of β, VI 26, IX 4, 67, XI 47, 61, 85, XII 85; and the corp. gloss. Lat. II 481 10 has *mencla* $\psi\omega\lambda\acute{\eta}$.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

Caesar B. C. III. 69.

Omniaque erant tumultus timoris fugae plena adeo ut cum Caesar signa fugientium manu prenderet et consistere iuberet, alii dimissis equis eundem cursum †confugerent, alii ex metu etiam signa dimitterent, neque quisquam omnino consisteret.

Confugerent seems an error for *confunderent.* This would explain *dimissis equis.* A scene seems to be described in which foot soldiers and cavalry are in turbid retreat. Some of the horse soldiers, in order to be indistinguishable from the main body of the flying force, dismount and try to escape on foot.

Manil. IV. 802 sqq.

Magna iacet tellus magnis circumdata ripis
Parthi seu Parthis domitae per saecula gentes
Bactraque aetherios babilonem et si spimosque
Nominaque innumeris uix amplectenda figuris.

803 I print after Bechert in the new Corpus. In 804 the text printed is *G*; there are however many variants. Possibly the verse should be written thus

Bactraque *Achaemenidos,* Babylon et Susa *Apameusque.*

Steph. Byz. s. u. Ἀπάμεια twice gives the nominative Ἀπαμεύς an Apamean.

Manil. IV. 45.

Et Cimbrum in Mario, Mariumque in carcere uictum,
Quod consul toties exul, quod de exule consul
Adiacuit Lybicis compar iactura ruinis
Eque crepidinibus cepit Carthaginis urbem.

Sen. Controu. VII. 17 (p. 198 Bursian).

Minturnensis palus exulem Marium non hausit: Cimber etiam in capto uidit imperantem; praetor iter a conspectu exulis flexit; qui *in crepidine* uiderat Marium in sella figurauit.

ib. Controuers. p. 57 Bursian.

Quis crederet iacentem supra crepidinem Marium fuisse consulem aut futurum?

Firmicus Mathesis I. 8. 49.

Ecce exul in paludibus mittitur nec ibi latitat, ecce carceris squaloribus premitur: uides ut ad *crepidinem* dirutae Carthaginis fugitiuus accedat.

u. 47 is well explained by Vell. II. 19 fin. cursum in Africam direxit inopemque uitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium tolerauit, cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solacio.

Sen. Apocolocynt. VIII.

'*Quare,' inquis, 'quaero enim, sororem suam?' 'Stulte, stude: Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum.' 'Quia Romae' inquis 'mures molas lingunt.*'

The meaning of *molas lingunt* seems to be 'lick *mill-stones*,' not '*meal*' (Perley Ball). Incestuous connexions of brother and sister were not uncommon at Athens, recognized at Alexandria, only furtively permitted in Rome. This is thus expressed 'You mean, because at Rome the mice (only) lick the mill-stones (where any flour has been left) not venturing on anything more open, such as eating the flour where it happens to lie scattered on the floor or has been collected in a bag or bin.'

Prop. IV. 8. 58.

Territa uicinas Teia clamat aquas.

Possibly *amas* 'water-buckets.' Juv. XIV. 305 *Dispositis praediues amis uigilare cohortem Seruorum nocte Licinus iubet.* It occurs in this sense in Pliny's Epistles, who combines it with *siphones* and other *instrumenta ad incendia compescenda* (Epp. X. 33. 2).

Theogn. 894.

ὡς δὴ κυψελίζων Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

κυψελίζων A, the best MS (Mutinensis), *κυψελλίζου* most other MSS (Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 40). This might represent *Κύψελε σόν.*

Theogn. 897–900.

Harrison prints these vv. as follows:

Κύρν' εἰ πάντ' ἄνδρεσσι καταθνητοῖς χαλεπαίνειν
γιγνώσκειν ὡς νοῦν οἷον ἕκαστος ἔχει
αὐτὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι, καὶ ἔργματα τῶν τε δικαίων
τῶν τ' ἀδίκων, μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν.

adding '897, 8 are hopelessly corrupt.' They do not seem to me so desperate. If χαλεπαίνειν may be supposed a corruption of χαλέπ' ἦεν, and οἷον of χοῖον, the construction would be clear, and the meaning not unintelligible. In 1059, 1060 Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὁρῶντι Γιγνώσκειν χαλεπόν, καίπερ ἐόντι σοφῷ, Theognis allows the *difficulty* of comprehending men's characters by distant observation, implying that, though difficult, it is not impossible. Here he implies the actual possibility of such gradual discernment of what others do or think, by the grievousness of the opposite. It *is* possible to make out the minds, and also the acts, of our fellow men; and it would be a misfortune for the world we live in, if it were not so. 'If everything had been difficult for mortal men to discern, viz. how each man thinks and what kind of thoughts he keeps in his own breast, as well as the deeds of just and unjust men alike, it had been a sore trouble for human shoulders to bear.'

Theogn. 1085, 6.

Δημῶναξ, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρύς· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστῃ
τοῦθ' ἕρδειν, ὅ τί σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾖ.

Δημων ἀξιοι δε πολλα A. 'you are resentful at having much to bear (or, there are many things you resent having to bear); for you have no notion of doing anything that is not to your fancy.' You fret at what is put upon you, because it is habitual with you to do what you please, not what others dictate.

Ennius Ann. I. 67 Vahlen.

Brakman Frontoniana p. 36 reports the reading of the Fronto Palimpsest as *constitis fluuius.* 'Ita euidenter codex.' This seems to be *constitit is.* (See Naber's Fronto, p. 160.)

Horace A. P. 65.

Regis opus sterilisue diu palus aptaque remis.

May not the spelling *plaus* which is found in some very early MSS be the real explanation of this seeming false

quantity? PLAVDIBVS for *paludibus* occurs in Fronto p. 228, *plaudesque* for *paludesque* in the Oxford MS (O) of Catullus cxv. 5. There may have been some peculiarity of pronunciation corresponding to this spelling, some slurring of the vowels, which allowed Horace to scan the word as he has done.

Add to the above instances A. L. 395, 6 Riese *plaudicolam* for *paludicolam* in the S. Gall. MS 250 of saec. IX.

Herond. VII. 53—55.

> *τάς μοι σαμβαλουχίδας πάσας*
> *ἔνεγκε, Πίστε· δεῖ μαλιστ* ΑΛΙΝΗΘΕΙCΑC
> *ὑμέας ἀπελθεῖν, ὦ γυναῖκες εἰς οἶκον.*

Perhaps *μάλιστ' ἰανθείσας* 'cheered.'

Troad. 570.

ΑΝΔ. *οἵδε πόθοι μεγάλοι· †σχέτλια τάδε πάσχομεν ἄλγη.*

G. G. A. Murray prints after Burges *σχετλία*, vocative. Rather, I think, *σχέτλιαι*.

[I see from Wecklein's Appendix that Wakefield had already made the same conjecture.]

Troad. 745 sqq. (Murray).

> *ὦ λέκτρα τἀμὰ δυστυχῆ τε καὶ γάμοι*
> *οἷς ἦλθον εἰς μέλαθρον Ἕκτορός ποτε,*
> *οὐχ ὡς †σφάγιον Δαναΐδαις τέξουσ' ἐμόν,*
> *ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννον Ἀσιάδος πολυσπόρου.*

I believe *σφάγιον* to be a corruption of *σφάγιά νιν*, though *ἐμόν* at the end of the verse is slightly awkward. Andromache is speaking of her infant son Astyanax, and the contrast of his original fortune, as the child of Hector and grandson of Priam, with the pitiful fate which the capture of Troy brought upon him; and this contrast would be suggested by *Δαναΐδαις* followed by *ἐμόν* 'not thinking that I should bear him to be a sacrifice to the Greeks, my own child as he was.'

Stat. S. v. 3. 117 sqq.

> *Nec sine luce genus, quamquam fortuna parentum*
> *Artior expensis; etenim te diuite ritu*
> *Ponere purpureos infantia legit amictus*
> *Stirpis honore datos et nobile pectoris aurum.*

In vol. XIII. 93 I have offered an explanation of this passage, reading *infantia adegit*, on which the meaning would be *infans coactus es ponere purpureos amictus et bullam.* To that I still adhere, but it seems more likely that *infantis adegit* was the source of the corruption, the *a* of *adegit* attaching itself to *infanti(s)* after *s* had fallen out, and *degit* then becoming *legit.* The nominative to *adegit* is *fortuna parentum*; and *infantis* depends on *purpureos amictus*: 'for your parents' poverty forced you to lay aside the purple robe you wore as a child and the bulla.'

Val. Flacc. III. 670, 671.

The Vatican MS gives this, according to the latest editor Giarratano[1] (Naples, 1904) as follows

> *Et ego et quocunque uoces qua tegmina ferro*
> Plura metam.

It has long been emended, no doubt rightly, thus

> En egomet quocunque uocas sequar, agmina ferro
> †Plura metam,

Plura however can hardly mean 'more than your lost Hercules': Baehrens em. *Rupta*: possibly *Pulsa.* In 670 the indic. *uocas* is required and is exactly paralleled by Calpurnius' (Ecl. I. 13) *Quo me cunque uocas, sequor, Ornite,* as H. Schenkl edits from the best MSS. The *e* in *uoces* of Vat. probably rose from a confusion of the syllables *-as se-*.

Licinianus XXVIII. p. 5 ed. Flemisch (Bibl. Teubneriana).

Graccho iterum cuius paulo ante memini consule TUR|I|OITETERIT nocturno.

Perhaps stupro interiit nocturno.

ib. p. 6.

Has ille METARIOTANTISACRITERGLISCENTISEX-TENDIT.

Perhaps Has ille *me(ri)tas* in tantis sacrilegiis poenas expendit.

[1] Giarratano's edition of Valerius deserves the attention of scholars: his industry is enormous; I can only hope he may complete it by another volume of exegesis. His edition of *Hermesianax* (Teubner) is equally full of interest.

This is much as Bursian corrected the passage *has ille poenas tanti sacrilegi expendit*; but METARIo looks like a corruption of *me(ri)tas in* and this points to *tantis sacrilegiis* rather than *tanti sacrilegi*; EXTENDIT as all editors agree is for *expendit*; in *centis* it seems probable that *poenas* is concealed.

XXXVIII. p. 10 Flem.

id Demetrio Seleuci filio qui datus obses a patre erat petenti IUNGEBAT.

denegabat *Keil*: but in IUNGEBAT it seems likely that TUNC formed part of the original, followed by *negabat* or perhaps *abnuebat.*

ib.

Aliquot matronae eodem somnio monitae una eademque nocte DE . . IB sacris praestiterunt hocque SACRIFICATU aliquotiens.

Perhaps DEI LIBERI and SACRI FACTUM.

XXXV. p. 15.

Constabat notari EAGMINECINNASEAC TRIB' patria pulsis tranquillum otium et securitatem futuram.

I would write *eo carmine Cinna*M AC SEX *tribunis.* Flemisch quotes Liv. Epit. 79 L. Cornelius Cinna . . . pulsus urbe a Cn. Octauio cum sex tribunis plebis.

Tac. Ann. VI. 48.

Sibi satis aetatis neque aliud paenitendum quam quod inter ludibria et †pericularia anxiam senectam toleranisset.

Pericula Beroaldus; but this does not account for the corruption. I believe the original was *pericula uaria.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

VERITATIS PATER.

In Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft &c.*, Jahrg. VII (1906), there is an article by Dr Vernon Bartlet on 'The origin and date of 2 Clement', an ancient homily of unknown authorship which used to be called the Second Epistle of St Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. In vol. XXVIII 201—204 of this JOURNAL I have given reason to think that 'The Homily of pseudo-Clement' is perhaps alluded to in a passage of Irenaeus. I write now chiefly to put forward a suggestion about the divine title Πατὴρ τῆς ἀληθείας in 2 Clem. iii 1, xx 5. Notes and queries about some other things in the homily will be appended. In Band 3 of F. X. Funk's *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen* (1907) Dr Bartlet's article is noticed at the end of the section on 2 Clem. In Band 28, Heft 1 (Apr. 1907) of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* the unity of 2 Clem. is called in question by W. Schüssler, and chaps xix, xx are made to be of later date than i—xviii.

1. *Plutarch.*

Having come to the conclusion that 2 Clem. is not Roman or Corinthian, but was first preached *c.* 120—140 A.D. in Alexandria, Dr Bartlet continues thus (p. 128):

But let us first test our results a little further by internal criteria. Many of the homily's ideas and phrases claim affinity with the East rather than the West. This is notably the case with the final Doxology, in which the characteristic theology of its author appears to an unusual degree. Τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ ἀοράτῳ, πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀληθείαν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωήν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. The whole is as akin to what we know of the Alexandrine type as it is unlike the Roman, particularly as regards the term ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἀληθείας (so 3, 1, cf. 19, 1), which occurs again and again in Sarapion's Prayer Book, an Egyptian work and no doubt ultimately Alexandrine. Then the conception of Christ as the Saviour, especially as inaugurator of immortality

and medium of the manifestation of the truth and the heavenly life, reminds us at almost every point of Barnabas and the Eucharistic Prayers of the *Didache*, which are both markedly Eastern. Yet it is to the general cast of the Doxology that one can appeal most confidently.

In Plutarch's *Quaestiones Romanae* (ii 266 E, F) it is said that the Romans accounted Cronos the Father of Truth. Why? Perhaps because they identified him with *chronos*, time, the finder out of truth. Or because the fabled Saturnian age was one of righteousness and truth. Plutarch's words are as follows:

Quaest. 11. *Διὰ τί τῷ Κρόνῳ θύουσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ;...Ἢ ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐδὲν ἐπίκρυφον ἢ ἐπίσκιον· ἀληθείας δὲ νομίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον εἶναι;*

Quaest. 12. *Διὰ τί δὲ τὸν Κρόνον πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας νομίζουσι; Πότερον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, χρόνον οἴονται τὸν Κρόνον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εὑρίσκει χρόνος; Ἢ τὸν μυθολογούμενον ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον, εἰ δικαιότατος ἦν, εἰκός ἐστι μάλιστα μετέχειν ἀληθείας;*

On this Wyttenbach has the note:

Magis, credo, a Graecis quam a Romanis Κρόνον *patrem veritatis* habitum. Videatur Plutarchus De Isid. et Osir. p. 363 D [*ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον*]. Macrobius Sat. I. 8. Cornutus Nat. Deor. II. p. 142. Heraclides Allegor. p. 465; alii vere pronunciant Κρόνον esse Χρόνον; nam haec forma invaluit postea, reperta litera X. Gellius XII. 11: *Alius quidam veterum poetarum, cujus nomen mihi nunc memoriae non est, Veritatem temporis filiam esse dixit.* Sophoclis locum ibi citatum et alia in hanc sententiam dicta Veterum apposuit Erasmus Adag. p. 925.

In the homily see i 6 *πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ προσκυνοῦντες λίθους κτέ.* iii 1 *Τοσοῦτον οὖν ἔλεος ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς· πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι...τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἔγνωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας.* XX 5 *πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.* Once a pagan, and having in mind the old mythology, the homilist may have put a phrase of heathen coinage to a Christian use when he wrote 'Father of Truth', or 'of the Truth'. The phrase would thus tell us nothing about the provenance of 2 Clem. It suits Rome or Corinth as well as Alexandria.

2. *Acta Thomae.*

In Max Bonnet's Greek *Acta Thomae*, ed. 1 (Lips. 1883), see § 7 (p. 9) ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὕμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας. § 26 (p. 20) οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν κύριος καὶ θεὸς πάντων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὃν κηρύσσω, καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἀληθείας, εἰς ὃν ὑμᾶς πιστεύειν ἐδίδαξα, cf. 2 Clem. i 2—4 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός...ὡς πατὴρ υἱοὺς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσεν, and the following *Veritatis Pater* (iii, xx). For *Act. Thom.* § 7 see also Preuschen's *Zwei Gnostische Hymnen* (1904).

3. *Sarapion's Prayer Book.*

In *Texte und Untersuchungen*, neue Folg. II 3b (1899), Dr Georg Wobbermin brought out *Altchrist. Liturg. Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens nebst einem dogmat. Brief des Bischofs Serapion von Thmuis.* In the same year the fragments were reedited as from 'Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book' in the S.P.C.K. *Early Church Classics*, in the names Wobbermin and John Wordsworth, by the Bishop of Salisbury. As Dr Bartlet has noted (10th Oct. 1906), the phrase '*Father* of Truth' does not occur at all in the fragments: it is '*God* of Truth' (Ps. xxxi 5) which Sarapion uses so often (10 times, W. pp. 28, 100). Lightfoot makes the two in 2 Clem. iii, xix, xx mere variants, and does not point out that the latter is from the Old Testament.

In Fragm. 23 *choir of the stars*, 24 *out of the heavens a living chorus* (W.), there is I suppose a reminiscence of 1 Clem. xx 3 ἀστέρων τε χοροί, which Cyril of Jerusalem also quotes (*Journ. of Phil.* XXIX 188, 198). With the use of σαλεύεσθαι of regular movement in 1 Clem. xx *init.* cf. in Bonnet's *Act. Thom.* ed. 1, p. 49, συνέβη ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ καύματος κεκοπιακέναι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως σαλευθῆναι.

4. *Pseudo-Clement and Alexandria.*

"Lightfoot, it is true, laid much, indeed undue stress upon the phrase εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν in 7, 1, as though there were only one place, viz. Corinth, where such a reference would be fully appropriate. He seems to forget that in the second century A.D. there were important games at a city like Alexandria" (Bartlet, p. 134). But his geographical

inference from καταπλέουσιν does not stand alone. It is confirmed by the allusion in φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας κτέ to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which St Paul had argued from their games in memorable words.

Chap. ix 1 Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται. Thus a preacher at Corinth would naturally have taught, having in mind 1 Cor. xv 12, "Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?"

Between 1 Clem. and 2 Clem. there are resemblances which seem to prove "that our writer was acquainted with and borrowed from the genuine Clement" (Lightfoot on 2 Clem. xi), as a teacher at Corinth, where his Epistle was read and known, would have done. Both writings being addressed πρὸς Κορινθίους and preserved at Corinth, it is easy to see how they may soon have been put together and described as 1 Clem. *Cor.* and 2 Clem. *Cor.*, whether first at Corinth or elsewhere. Thus several things combine to mark the Homily as Corinthian.

"But the case for a date before 150 and for Alexandrian *provenance* might safely be staked on a single passage in the homily, that in which the doctrine of the pre-mundane *pneumatic* Church (ch. 14) is adduced as a prime motive for ἐγκράτεια in relation to sins of the flesh" (Bartlet, p. 125). The Greek is given at length with the comments of von Schubert, and the discourse here is characterised as "subtle to the point of obscurity and passing rapidly from one nuance of the term πνεῦμα to another" (Bartlet, p. 127). Similarly Lightfoot points to the preacher's "confusion in his metaphor in this context" as justifying the charge of inconsequence brought against him by Photius. But perhaps the critic missed the point of the formula of transition εἰ δὲ λέγομεν (xiv 4). Gen. i 27 (Matt., Mark) *male and female* is applied in Eph. v 32 to Christ and the Church, and the homilist accordingly says, "The male is Christ, the female the Church" (xiv 2). If (1) He preexisted as πνεῦμα, must not the ἐκκλησία πρώτη have been likewise πνευματική? *Or* (2) *if we say* that "the flesh is the Church and the spirit Christ", then &c. Either inference from such texts would have seemed obvious enough to the more or less philosophic theologian, however confusing the

result of trying to run the two notions into one. If some things in 2 Clem. be thought to point to Alexandria, why should not a teacher elsewhere have learned there or thence? All things considered I still incline to the view of Lightfoot, that the homily is Corinthian. The general cast of the Doxology (p. 50) is Scriptural. Accounting for *Veritatis Pater* as above, I should turn to the New Testament to illustrate the rest of it.

5. *Early Evidence for the Homily.*

To restate briefly what I have said in vol. XXVIII 201 f, in pseudo-Justin's *Respons. ad Orthodox.* 74 we read, that the end of the present order is to be *ἡ διὰ πυρὸς κρίσις τῶν ἀσεβῶν, καθά φασιν αἱ γραφαὶ...καθὼς* [Cotel. *and* as] *φησιν ὁ μακάριος Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ.* When the lost endings of 1 and 2 Clem. had been found by Bryennius, it was seen (according to Lightfoot) that the allusion was to the end of 2 Clem. Why should the same not be alluded to also in Cotelier's quotation from Irenaeus about the Epistle to the Corinthians, viz. by the words, *qui ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus*? If not, some other explanation of these words is wanted. Lightfoot on Clement at first wrote that "the insertion of a statement so remarkable could not have been an accidental error on the part of Irenæus", and assumed that it alluded to the lost ending of 1 Clem. (I 178, 1890). Afterwards he ignored or, perhaps, forgot the words.

Dr Bartlet argues for the dependence of *Hermae Pastor* upon 2 Clem. I have for a long time thought this probable, and have intended sooner or later to write upon the subject.

6. 2 *Clement and the Fourth Gospel.*

Chap. i 1 *Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.* 2 *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς...*4 *τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο, ὡς πατὴρ υἱοὺς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσεν...*6 *πηροὶ ὄντες τῇ διανοίᾳ κτέ. καὶ ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὅλος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἦν εἰ μὴ θάνατος.* To all this there are parallels in the Johannine writings. See John v 22 f, x 30 *For the Father...hath committed all judgment unto the Son: That all should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father... I and the Father are one.* ib. i 4 f, ix 5 f *In him was...*

light, which, as in the homily (i 4 f.), He bestowed upon the naturally blind. ib. xiii 33, xiv 18 *Little children,...I will not leave you orphans* (E. V. marg.): "Christ presents Himself to the disciples as a Father of 'children'...*Ipse circa nos paternum affectum quodammodo demonstrat* (Aug. *ad loc.*). The very word which describes their sorrow confirms their sonship" (Westcott). ib. v 24 (1 John iii 14) *from death unto life*, in the spiritual sense.

Chap. iii 1 *τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας*, xx 5 *πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*, Syr. adds *domini nostri iesu christi* (in apposition). "The Syriac translator takes 'the Truth' here to denote Christ Himself (John xiv. 6); comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 63 *ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς μονογενοῦς αὐτῷ ἀληθείας*. So Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) speaks of Christ's personal disciples as receiving commandments *ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας*" (Lightfoot). This raises the question, Did pseudo-Clement likewise allude to John *l.c. I am...the Truth*? ib. viii 44 *Ye are of your father the devil...When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it* (or *When one speaketh ...for his father also is a liar*). The A. V. suggests two questions, Did the Evangelist know the old phrase *Veritatis Pater*? and did pseudo-Clement use it in contrast with 'Father of Falsehood', thinking of John viii 44?

Chap. vi 9 *ἢ τίς ἡμῶν παράκλητος ἔσται κτέ*, cf. John xiv f, 1 John ii 1 *we have a paraclete* &c. The word is in Philo, and (as Heb. פרקליט) in the rabbinic writings: see Westcott's Addit. Note on John xiv 16.

Chap. ix 4 *ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε.* 5 *εἰ Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος, ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὢν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ*. The homilist uses the Johannine phrase *come in flesh* (plus *the*) in a way of his own. Lightfoot has the note, "The doctrine of the pre-existence of the Son, as the Logos, is here presented in a somewhat unusual form", as if *πνεῦμα* were a variant for *λόγος*. But the antithesis *λόγος, σάρξ* is rather a variant for the more primitive *πνεῦμα, σάρξ*, as in N.T. writings earlier than the Fourth Gospel. Given that Christ existed before He came or was manifested 'in flesh', He must have pre-existed as Spirit. This form of teaching would have been superseded eventually, but not at once, when the Johannine

Logos doctrine had been formulated. The words...*πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ* are remarkable because they connote, what is not meant, the transubstantiation of spirit into flesh. The inexact phrase 'became flesh' may have been adopted from John i 14 *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, Vulg. *caro factum* (Tert. *factus*) *est*.

Chap. xvii 3, 6 (iii 4, vi 7) *τὰς ἐντολὰς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, cf. *inter alia* Herm. *Sim.* ix 14 5, "such as...bear the name of the Son of God and walk in *His commandments*". The phrase may be accounted for by Matt. xxviii 20 *ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην*, but it appears more explicitly in the Johannine writings (Ev. xiv 15, 1 Ep. ii 3, &c.). Lightfoot (II 204, 255, 1890) suggests that the homilist's *ὅτι σὺ ἦς* (xvii 5) is a reminiscence of John viii 24, 28, xiii 19 *ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι*.

Chap. xix 1 *μισθὸν...ζωὴν...*3 *τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν*, cf. John iv 36 *μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, Herm. *Sim.* iv 8 *καρποφορῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον*.

So much in 2 Clement being thus explainable by the Fourth Gospel, it is a tenable hypothesis that the homilist was acquainted with it.

Of references to Holy Scripture in 2 Clem. note also, chap. ii 4 *καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ* (cf. xiv 1, 2) *λέγει ὅτι Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι κτέ* (Mark ii 17; cf. Matt., Luke). xiii 3 *τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*. 4 *λέγει ὁ Θεός, Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν κτέ*, "A loose quotation from Luke vi 32, 35". xiv 2 *τὰ βιβλία* (cf. Sir. *Prol. βιβλία*; 2 Macc. viii 23 *τὴν ἱερ. βίβλον*) *καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, an expression which may signify or include what Justin calls the *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*. Some, as Harnack, make 2 Clem. later than Justin. In the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (ed. J. A. Robinson in *T. & S.* i 2) we find the phrase *libri et epistulae Pauli* (p. 114). xix 1 *μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγινώσκω ὑμῖν*, as we speak of reading an author, meaning his writings. 'God' here, to judge from xiii 4 *ὁ Θεός*, may be the word of God in the Old Testament or the New.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE, 1907.

NOTES ON CATULLUS AND LUCRETIUS.

A. Catullus.

'Valerius Catullus scriptor lyricus Veronae nascitur Olympiade clxiii [*lege* clxxiii], anno ante natum Sallustium Crispum, diris Marii Syllaeque temporibus, quo die Plotinus [*lege* Plotius] latinam rhetoricam primus Romae docere coepit.'

So the *Vita* of the Editio Princeps. The opinion of Huschk and others that this 'Life' is a genuine relic of antiquity hardly needs refutation. I have only transcribed the opening sentence of it in order to call attention in the third line to the words *quo die*: and to adduce a parallel. The ingenious Italian who compiled this Vita Catulli has placed upon the same day events which Jerome = Suetonius assigned to the same year. With this compare Donatus = Suetonius, Vita Virgilii, § 6: 'uirilem togam...xv anno natali suo accepit, isdem illis consulibus quibus erat natus, euenitque ut *eo ipso die* Lucretius poeta decederet.' The suspicion at once suggests itself that the biographer[1] who 'wrote up' the Vit. Virg. has treated Suetonius' statements about Lucretius exactly as the biographer of Catullus in the Ed. Pr. has treated the accounts given him of that poet: and that what Suet. wrote was something like this: 'uirilem togam...natus: isdem consulibus Lucretius poeta decessit.' The Vita Catulli belongs, it is true, to the fifteenth century: the Vita Virg. (in its purer form) is at least as old as the tenth. But human nature in such matters

[1] He need not be older than saec. ix–x. The substance of this life is no doubt Suetonius: but the process of adding to Suet. which (in the interpolated recension) we see continuing into the fifteenth century may very well have been at work five centuries earlier.

is much the same in every century. Two notable events which happened about the same time are inevitably before long placed on the same day. I see no more reason for supposing that Lucretius died on Virgil's fifteenth birthday than for believing that Catullus was born on the day on which Plotius 'latinam rhetoricam docere coepit.' The rejection of this date (Oct. 15) for the death of Lucretius is, as I shall shew later, not without importance for the problem connected with the publication of the De Rerum Natura.

Carm. i. 2.

Why does Catullus select Cornelius Nepos? Why not Calvus Cinna Cornificius,—who would all seem more appropriate persons for the dedication of a volume of *nugae*? 'Namque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas': that gives one reason no doubt: and no doubt another was that Nepos and Catullus were compatriots. 'Colligere possumus Nepotem, aliquanto antea quam primum illud carmen scripsit Catullus, Chronica edidisse, in quibus, ut ex uersibus tertio et duobus sequentibus conligimus, poetae popularis sui mentionem honorificentissimam publice fecerat.' So Schwabe (Quaest. 296), whom Ellis follows. But it is surely highly unlikely that in a universal history comprising all the great events of the world from its mythological beginnings (hence no doubt Ausonius' 'fabulas,' Ep. 16) down to recent times—a history compressed into three books each no longer than a book of Tacitus[1]—Nepos would have had space, or inclination, to speak of the *nugae* of Catullus. The true explanation of the dedication to Nepos is, I fancy, supplied by Pliny Epp. 5. 3. 6. Nepos had himself begun life as a poet. Like Virgil and others he had commenced his literary career with a volume of *nugae*: and he was thus a fit and proper person to be the patron of 'uersiculi parum seueri.'

[1] The normal papyrus roll (prose) seems to have contained about 2000 lines: Nepos' 'tres chartae' would thus be about 6000 lines. Achilles Statius, however, strangely interprets *tribus* chartis as merely = paucis chartis, comparing 79. 4 'si tria amatorum (*sic*) suauia reppererit': so too Muretus 'breui libello.'

ib. 5. unus Italorum:

Italorum because Nepos, like Catullus, was 'Padi incola,' an 'inquilinus.' He was not Romanus: Gallia Transpadana possessed till 49 B.C. only the *ius Latii*[1]. *unus* Italorum: unus in contrast with *omne* aeuum: and we may thus spare ourselves the pains of enquiring whether the Chronica of Nepos was prior to the Annales of Varro: 'a single Italian'—'the whole of history.'

ib. 6. 'explicare': 'to set forth in order,' says Ellis, quoting (after Ach. Stat.) Cic. Brut. 4. 15. No, it means to 'unrol.' Just as 'complicare' is to 'do up' 'roll up' (Cic. Q. Fr. 3. 1. 17) so 'explicare chartam' is to 'unroll a papyrus,' and by a natural extension 'omne aeu. iii. expl. chartis' is to 'unfold all history over the extent of three papyri.'

ib. 8—10.

> quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
> qualecunque: quod <o> patrona uirgo
> plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

9. qualecunque quidem ora per uirorum Jovian. Pontanus.
qualecunque quod o patrima uirgo Scaliger.
qualecunque quidemst patronei ut ergo Bergk prob. Munro.

None of these emendations are wanting in cleverness. (The first of them I notice because it is passed over by Ellis, who passes over very little.) If no better defence were possible than is commonly offered of *patrona uirgo* we should have, I think, to accept Bergk's palaeographically admirable correction. But I believe a better defence to be possible. Statius' interpretation 'Minerva' will not do (so Scaliger, so Baehrens, however). 'Mihi patrona uirgo uidetur esse Musa,' says Ellis. Only on one hypothesis could patrona uirgo be = Musa: on the hypothesis, namely, that the volume which Catullus here dedicates to Nepos bore as its title the name of some one or other of the Muses. The custom of prefixing the names of the Muses as titles to volumes was familiar to the Greeks at any rate before the time of Lucian. See De Conscrib. Hist. cap. 42:

[1] The question is an obscure one, but this seems to have been the fact in law, though the '*populares*' questioned it.

in Act. cap. 1. It was also very early familiar to the Romans. See Suetonius, De Gramm. 6: '(Aurelius Opilius) composuit... uolumina, ex quibus nouem unius corporis, quia scriptores ac poetas sub clientela Musarum indicaret, non absurde et fecisse et scripsisse se ait ex numero diuarum et appellatione.' I had noted down this latter passage before I found that a part of it was quoted by Ellis. If he had quoted the whole, he would have perhaps realised that just as Aurelius called his books by the names of the Muses in order to shew that the poets etc. were the clients of the Muses, so Catullus, if he spoke of the Muse as 'patrona uirgo' (and so of himself as *cliens Musae*) had not improbably christened his volume after some Muse. But which Muse? Not, I feel sure, *the* Muse in general: but *a* Muse. Thalia? She would doubtless be a good *patrona* of 'nugae,' 'ineptiae' (14. 24). But the Muse who was oftenest in Catullus' thoughts was not Thalia. His favourite Muse was none of the Nine: but far rather the Muse whom he mentions in 35. 16, 17—the tenth Muse.

And so did he perhaps call his volume 'Musa Lesbia'? It could scarcely have borne a more appropriate title. (For the transition from *Lesbia* the adjective to *Lesbia* the substantive = Clodia, see Munro, Crit. and Eluc. 196. 7.)

v. 1. uiuamus mea Lesbia atque amemus.

For *uiuamus amemus* add to Ellis' note, from an unknown poet of Catullus' time (Baehrens, Fragm. Poet. Lat. p. 327),

uiuis ludis habes *amas* amaris,

the last two words of which, again, recall Catull. 45. 20 amant amantur.

xi. 11—12.

Gallicum Rhenum horribilem insulam ultim-
osque Britannos.

So Ellis, of old: to whom Munro is absurdly unjust when he objects that 'what the Romans dreamt of then, *as we see from Cicero and others*, was nothing more *dreadful* than gold, pearls, captives etc.' (Crit. and Eluc. p. 100). As we see from Cicero! From such passages, I suppose, as Q. Fr. 2. 15. 4 *timebam* Oceanum, *timebam* litus *insulae*. As for 'gold, pearls, captives

etc.' see Ad Fam. 7. 7 'In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti.'

Ellis now conjectures, horribilem sequi ult-: and so Mr Housman. But the elision in this foot of the last syllable of a pure iambic is little short of monstrous. No parallel can be adduced either from Catullus or from Horace. Even Hor. 3. 11. 42 *ĕgŏ illis* is harsh and startling: but sequi ultim- is surely unthinkable.

xii. Munro is pretty certainly right when he says that the Asinius of this poem was not a Pollio. Of the cognomen Pollio he says: 'Whence this surname was derived is altogether unknown.' On the contrary: the name Pollio is pretty certainly derived from Judaea. It is a Latinised form of the name Abtaljon (so Schürer: Geschichte des jüdischen Volks, vol. ii. p. 294). In a recent number of the Classical Review (xix. 1. 37–8) I gave reasons for thinking that certain members of the *gens Asinia* were Jews. In 38 B.C. one Pollio, a Pharisee, a member of the Sanhedrin, materially assisted Herod the Great to establish himself on the throne to which the Roman Senate, on the motion of C. Asinius Pollio, had preferred him (Josephus, Antiq. 15. 1. 1). This Pollio (Apollyon) the Pharisee was perhaps a brother or nephew of Gnaeus Asinius, the father of C. Asinius Pollio. When Gnaeus Asinius christened his younger son Pollio, he was no doubt paying a compliment to a Jewish relative. What was the occasion of this compliment? Perhaps the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. Pollio the Pharisee was a partisan of the Roman government: and he may perhaps in this year have received some power or distinction which would give Gnaeus Asinius a motive for christening one of his sons by this Jewish cognomen. C. Asinius Pollio would be thirteen years old in 63 B.C. In l. 11 of this poem he is called 'puer.' If the poem can thus not be earlier than 63 it can hardly be much later than 60.

xxxvi.

Annales Volusi.

Ellis on the whole inclines to reject the suggested identification of Volusius and Tanusius. I can, I think, add to what he

says against the identification a new and very strong argument, derived from two passages of Cicero which seem to have been passed over by commentators.

If Volusius and Tanusius are one and the same, then Tanusius must have been a Transpadane Gaul: this is clear from xcv. 7 Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam. Now of the nationality of the Tanusius whom it is sought to identify with Volusius we are nowhere told anything. But if it can be shewn that the only gens Tanusia of whom we know anything were certainly not Transpadanes, but a Roman family of some distinction, the identification of the historian Tanusius with the Transpadane Volusius will at once be made highly improbable. Now the two passages of Cicero which I have mentioned do shew this clearly. The first of them is Quintus Cicero: Comment. Petit. 2. 9: 'cuius [Catilinae] primus ad rempublicam aditus in *equitibus Romanis* occidendis fuit: nam illis quos meminimus Gallis[1] qui tum Titiniorum ac Nanniorum ac *Tanusiorum* capita demetebant (demebant *codd.*) Sulla unum Catilinam praefecerat.' The second passage exists merely in a reference of Asconius to the Oratio in Toga Candida: Asconius cap. 74 (Clark p. 84): '<Dicitur> Catilina, cum in Sullanis partibus fuisset, crudeliter fecisse. Nominatim etiam postea Cicero dicit quos occiderit, Q. Caecilium, M. Volumnium, L. Tanusium.' From these two passages it appears that the Tanusii were (1) *equites Romani*, which they could not have been called at this time if they had been Transpadanes: (2) a family of some notability in Rome.

As a matter of fact the only strong ground for identifying Tanusius and Volusius is Seneca, Epp. 93. 9: 'Annales Tanusi scis quam ponderosi sint et quid uocentur.' That *quid uocentur* refers to Catullus' *cacata carta* I do not doubt. But I do not think that we need therefore necessarily identify Tanusius and Volusius. I fancy that this passage of Seneca admits of a simple explanation. That there existed both a *gens Tanusia* and a *gens Volusia* is certain. That both a Tanusius and a Volusius should write 'Annales' is no more strange than that both Ennius and Varro should do so. I imagine that just as

[1] These Galli must be Gallic bravos hired for the Sullan executions.

there existed a *gens Volusia* and a *gens Tanusia* so there also existed an 'Annales Volusi' and an 'Annales Tanusi.' The ponderosity etc. of the latter earned for it in common speech the opprobrious name which Catullus applied to the former.

Lewis and Short, I notice, give Tanūsius, with long *u*. I do not imagine that there is any authority for this.

xxxvii. 3—5.

solis putatis esse mentulas uobis,
solis licere quidquid est puellarum
confutuere et putare ceteros hircos.

Ellis wishes to give the word *hircos* the connotation *male mentulatos*. But no noun, however connotative, can connote its opposite, as *hircos* would in this case have to do. *hircos* must mean either *salaces* or *male olentes*. But of these two senses either is in the context inept. There is I believe some corruption in the text. I had originally thought of *curtos* for *hircos*[1], but (1) though *curtus* is used of a gelding I doubt if it can be applied to a man in the sense of *castratus*: (2) *putare* is highly suspicious, since the construction must be *putatis licere putare* which it is difficult to believe that Catullus could be guilty of[2]. I would suggest stuprare ceteris hircos i.e. putatisne solis uobis puellas licere confutuere, ceteris licere tantum hircos stuprare? The idea conveyed by *hircum stuprare* comes out more clearly in Plautus, Casina 1017—1018, whence I derived my emendation:—

nerum qui non manibus clare quantum poterit plauserit
ei pro scorto supponetur hircus unctus nautea.

'He who does not like my play—*hircum stupret*.'

xlix. 7.

omnium patronus.

Cicero, Pro Caelio § 32, calls Clodia 'omnium amicam.' Had Catullus this stinging phrase in mind?

lv. 8—9.

quas uultu uidi tamen sereno.
a uel te sic ipse flagitabam:

[1] Similarly Tibullus 2. 1. 58 the MSS have *hircus* for *curtas*.

[2] Though Cicero *Lex Manil.* § 37 has *putamus...cogitare*.

Perhaps quas uultu *ut* uidi tamen sereno
auerti sic etc.

ib. 22. dum uostri (nostri *codd. dett.*) sis particeps amoris. uostri = uſri. Perhaps *dum ueri* etc.: 'so long as you are truly and really in love.' Cf. xi. 19 nullum amans *uere*.

lxi. 131 = 127 sqq.

da nuces pueris, iners
concubine: satis diu
lusisti nucibus: lubet
iam seruire Talasio.

That the third line is rightly punctuated I cannot believe. The point of the lines is that the *concubinus* shall give nuts on the occasion of Mallius' bridal. He is now to give up his connection with Mallius: satis diu lusisti = satis diu stupro usus es in Mallio: and, therefore, nucibus iam iuuet seruire Talasio, let Mallius be married propitiously: let Talasius have his service of nuts. I would, in other words, read:—

lusisti: nucibus *iuuet*
iam seruire Talasio.

lxiii. 49.

patriam allocuta ita uoce miseritus maiestas (magestates O, miseritus *suprascr.* miseriter G), GOR.

All editors print Avancius' correction

patriam allocuta maestast ita uoce miseriter.

But *miseriter* has little authority now that R, with O, supports miseritus: and in any case it would be nearer to the *ductus litterarum* to read

patriam allocuta, moesta *se* ita uoce miserita*st*.

ib. 53—4.

ut apud niuem et ferarum gelida stabula forem
et earum omnium adirem furibunda latibula.

For et earum omnium (= oiũ) adirem, I would suggest et aprum uia<s> adirem, taking furibunda latibula in apposition with uias aprum. For aprorum uias cf. 72 ubi cerua siluicultius, ubi *aper nemoriuagus*.

lxii. 41.

quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber.

Cf. Catalepton iii.* 14

nua pampinea rubens *educata* sub umbra,

which suggests here *educat umbra*. umbra while giving a good antithesis to *sol* develops the idea of in *saeptis secretus*... hortis.

lxiii. 24.

ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant.

Ellis takes sancta as an adjective: 'a rare collocation.' It should, I think, be regarded as P. P. P. and construed with ululatibus: 'rites hallowed by shrill shoutings.'

ib. 32.

comitata tympano Attis per opaca nemora dux.

'Possibly the tambourine with its noise and bells is thought of personally' (Ellis). Possibly the text is corrupt. For the barely tolerable 'comitata tympano' I would suggest 'comitum alta tympano'—'Attis by the noise of his timbrels guiding his companions through the dark forest depths.'

ib. 75.

geminas deorum ad aures noua nuntia referens.

I believe that the text here is sound, but that no one has rightly interpreted it. geminas deorum aures means, not 'the two ears,' but 'the *listening* ears of the gods.' 'To sleep on both ears' was a proverbial expression both in Greek and in Latin for 'to hear nothing' 'not to bother.' For the Greek, see Aulus Gellius ii. 23. In Latin cf. Terence, Heaut. Tim. 2. 3. 101 in aurem utramuis otiose ut dormias: and Plautus, Pseud. 1. 121

Ps. de istac re in oculum utrumuis conquiescito.

Ca. oculum anne in aurem?

Ps. at hoc peruolgatumst nimis.

Accordingly when a sound is said to approach 'the two ears of the gods,' it is meant that the gods' ears were listening or wide awake: geminas, in other words, = audientes.

ib. 65.

mihi ianuae frequentes, mihi limina tepida.

Statius interpreted tepida as 'swarming' (cf. feruere). Most modern edd. render 'warm with the bodies of my lovers lying on the threshold.' I would suggest that the expression should be interpreted in the light of such passages as Persius 1. 109 *limina frigescunt*: and that *tepida* means 'kind to friends,' 'welcoming friends': limina quae amicis non frigescebant: and this brings us very near to 'thronged.'

lxiv. 45.

candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensae.

Ellis debates whether mensae is gen. or dat. If the words mean what I think they mean it can only be dative. I do not think that Catullus means merely that 'the seats are of shining ivory, and the table glows with cups.' He means that 'the seats are of shining ivory, and the cups and tables are of the same glowing substance as one another i.e. the table is of gold and the cups are of gold.'

ib. 103—4.

non ingrata tamen frustra munuscula diuis
promittens tacito succendit uota labello.

Ellis can hardly be right in retaining *succendit* in 104. Some of the codd. dett. read *suspendit*, which Ellis appears to me to misunderstand. He renders "she let her vows hover or hang irresolutely: i.e. only gave them half utterance." But surely the idea in *suspendere uota* is that of hanging up a votive tablet: and the expression is quite intelligible. A tempting, but unnecessary correction, would be *tacita... tabella.*

ib. 109—110.

illa procul radicitus exturbata
prona cadit lateque cum eius obuia (omnia) frangens.

So the MSS: quot editores tot emendationes. I fancy that the MS error proceeds from confusion of contractions. The archetype had, I believe, in 110, late q$^{>}$c' uetus (i.e. late

quercus uetus) which was mistaken by the parent of GO for lateq. cũ eius. Apart from the contraction-signs there is in fact (save t = i) no difference between the one reading and the other. *quercus uetus* will be semi-parenthetical and will half-recall quercum aut conigeram...pinum in 106. That our archetype was full of contractions is everywhere abundantly manifested. (Cf. e.g. 78*. 4 loquet› = loquetur.)

ib. 303—306.

> qui postquam niueis fluxerunt sedibus artus
> large multiplici constructae sunt dape mensae,
> cum interea infirmo quatientes corpora motu
> ueridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus.

In 305 *cum interea* we have an elision which is without parallel in the hexameters of Catullus, and almost without parallel in Latin hexameters generally. Virgil has *si ad uitulam* beginning a line, but in an early poem (Ecl. 3. 48). Lucretius 4. 1205 has *quom interea* as the first words of a line; but the text is there somewhat disturbed, and in any case Catullus' hexameters are everywhere much more finished. A simple and, I think, an effective, alteration here of *cum interea* would be *tum uetera*. In 303 I should also be inclined to read *quis* for *qui* (i.e. quibus postquam constructae sunt dape mensae tum...Parcae *etc.*).

The objection I bring against *cum interea* applies *a fortiori* in 350 to Baehrens' conjecture *cum incultum*. It is astonishing that Dr Postgate should print this emendation in his text. It is true that Catullus occasionally elides a monosyllable at the beginning of a line in his elegiacs, as e.g. 65. 22: 67. 30: 68. 14, 118. But his hexameters are altogether free from the metrical roughness which everywhere characterises his elegiacs. In l. 350 instead of Baehrens' *cum incultum* (for *cum inciuum*) I would suggest cum lacerum (= lac›um). *la-*, if the *a* were of the open form, would easily pass into *In*: and between *Inc›um* and *Inciuum* (= Inciuũ) the difference is very small. For *lacerum* cf. Seneca Troad. 99, 100 (cited by Ellis) soluimus omnes lacerum multo funere crinem which must surely be an echo of this passage.

ib. 320—321.

haec tum clarisona pellentes uellera uoce
talia diuino fuderunt carmine fata.

In 320 editors have mostly exercised themselves with emending *pellentes*. But no suspicion seems to have fallen on the to me meaningless and otiose *uoce*. I believe *uoce* to be corrupt and to be a mere stopgap inserted to supply some lost word. What that lost word is seems to me to be indicated (1) by *clarisona* which (if *uoce* disappears) demands *tela*, (2) by *uellera* = uell⁾a after which *tela* would easily be lost.

ib. 330.

quae tibi flexanimum mentis perfundat amorem.

So Al. Guarino for flexo animo of MSS—a slighter change than any other. mentis amorem: 'inward love,' Ellis. Rather *flexanimum* governs *mentis*, 'love which subdues the mind': amor qui flectit animum mentis (almost). A parallel to the expression may be found in Aesch. Agam. *θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης* (*λύπη θυμοβόρος φρενός* would be a more exact parallel). *θυμός* = animus, *φρένα* = mentem.

ib. 353.

praesternens cultor)
messor) aristas.

Ellis still retains the *cultor* of G. But surely the only explanation of the dual lection is to suppose that in the copy from which G is derived praesternēsmessoraristas had by a double haplography (mess- being lost after -nēs, and -or before ar-) passed into praesternēs aristas, cultor being added as an intelligent metrical stopgap. In other words given an archetype with *messor*, a reason can be shewn for the appearance in one of its descendants of cultor: given an archetype with cultor, messor remains unexplained.

lxvi. 53 nutantibus...pennis: surely 'drowsy,' as Statius, Theb. 1. 340, and often.

lxviii. 69—72.

ad quam communes exerceremus amores:
quo mea se molli candida diua pede

intulit, et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea.

Of communes amores Ellis rightly says that it cannot mean 'a mistress shared by both': yet on the analogy of Petron. 105 (*communem amicam*), Martial 11. 81. 1 (*communem Aeglen*) this is what it should mean. Neither of the other two explanations he suggests seem possible: (1) *communes* can hardly mean 'mihi et Lesbiae communes,' and (2) 'pursuing their loves in common, *in the same house*' (so Munro) would require not *communes* but *confines*: and *confines* is what I believe Catullus wrote.

In 31 Ellis explains *trito* not as 'well trod' (cf. 115 pluribus ut caeli *tereretur* ianua diuis) but as = ξεστός. Rightly no doubt, but he does not adduce what is the strongest support of this interpretation. The four lines I have transcribed contain several echoes of the sixty-first poem (the Epithalamium). The coming of Lesbia to the house of Manlius (though Lesbia did not come *dextra deducta paterna* 143) is described in the same language as Catullus in lxi uses of the bride crossing the threshold. *trito limine* is the exact equivalent of *rassilem forem* in 61. 168 = 164. Further, comparing in 72 *arguta solea* with 61. 10 luteum soccum, 61. 167 = 163 *aureolos pedes* I have little doubt that for *arguta* we should read here *aurata*. *aurata* first became *aruta*, and the correction to *arguta* was then inevitable. If *arguta* is retained it *must* denote not either 'shapely' or 'creaking' (as Ellis and edd. generally) but something appealing to the sense of *colour* —something like what is conveyed by Gray's 'glance their many-twinkling feet.'

ib. 143.

nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna.

But the fathers in Rome did not escort the brides to their new homes. For *deducta* we ought, I fancy, to read *depacta*,— of the *pactio nuptialis*. See Plaut. Trin. 1183

Ch. haec tibi pactast Callicles filia. *Le.* ego ducam, pater.

lxxxi. 4.

hospes inaurata pallidior statua.

inaurata 'composed of wood or some similar material and then coated with gilding,' says Ellis. This I believe to be a very incorrect account of what the Romans understood by a *statua inaurata*. I only comment upon the words because I am not sure that there is anywhere to be found a respectable account of the meanings of *inauratus*. The account given in Lewis and Short is quite inadequate. I will begin by supplementing the references in that lexicon, and those given here by Ellis, by the following passages where I have noted the use of the word.

Cic. Phil. 5. § 41 eique statuam inauratam in rostris... statui.

Auct. ad Herenn. 2. § 34 (quoting Ennius) petebant illam pellem inauratam arietis. [Similarly Lactantius Placidus (but I cannot recover the reference) uses inaurata pellis of the golden fleece.]

Prop. 1. 16. 3 cuius inaurati celebrarunt limina currus.

Tib. 4. 1. 15 = 3. 7. 15 inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu.

Ov. Met. 13. 700, 701

hactenus antiquo signis fulgentibus aere
summus inaurato crater erat asper acantho.

Suet. Jul. 54 tria milia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio tantundem inaurati aeris reposuit.

Digest 18. 14 nam si inauratum aliquid sit, licet ego aureum putem, ualet uenditio: si autem aes pro auro ueneat, non ualet.

This last passage is of great importance. The Roman lawyers, we learn, held that a man who bought an object that was *inauratum*, thinking it to be *aureum*, must abide by the purchase. Contrast with this Digest 18. 41 (where silver is in question): Mensam argento coopertam mihi ignoranti pro solida uendidisti imprudens: nulla est emptio. It at once becomes clear that to the ordinary Roman *inauratus* meant commonly something much more than 'coated with gilding.' The *aliquid inauratum* in Dig. 18. 14 is a *uiriola*, a bracelet,

'quae aurea dicebatur...eaque inuenta esset magna ex parte aenea.' The implication is that an object which was *inauratum* was something composed mainly of gold with some admixture of bronze. Everything in fact seems to point to an alloy in which the predominant metal was gold.

This hypothesis of an alloy seems also to be the simplest explanation of Suetonius, Jul. 54. And if we look at one or two passages in which *statuae inauratae* are mentioned, I fancy that this alloy hypothesis will be strengthened. Cicero (Phil. 5. § 41) speaks of a *statua inaurata* as the highest honour which the Roman Senate could decree to a citizen. He can hardly be thinking, therefore, of a statue, as Ellis would have it, 'composed of wood or some similar material and then coated with gilding.' Such a statue would have been inferior to one *ex aere facta*. Look e.g. at Cic. Verr. 2. 2. § 50. In the *βουλευτήριον* at Syracuse, Cicero there tells us, there was a statue of Marcellus '*ex aere facta*.' Verres in this place caused to be erected to himself 'statuam inauratam' and another to his son. And Verres was not likely to have anything not of the best. And as a matter of fact, do we ever read of statues of any material more precious than that of the *statuae inauratae*? The materials in which the best sculptors at Rome worked were marble and bronze (Virg. Aen. 6. 848—9). Of silver statues I can recall no mention: nor can I find at the moment more than one passage where a gold statue is mentioned: and that is a merely hypothetical, and a comic, statue; Plaut. Curc. 4. 39 sqq.:

> statuam uult dare auream
> solidam faciundam ex auro Philippo.

And this general absence of references to gold statues (some references, no doubt, there are which have escaped me)[1] seems to me to point to the fact that the *inaurata statua* is practically the equivalent of *aurea statua*. The less costly statues were made of bronze (as e.g. that of Serv. Sulpicius, Cic. Phil. 9. § 16, that of Marcellus, Cic. Verr. 2. 2. § 50). The

[1] While passing these sheets through the press I recall Virgil, Ecl. 7. 36 (another *hypothetical* gold statue) and Pliny N. H. 23. 12 (a silver statue).

highest honour was that of an *inaurata statua* which, like an *inaurata uiriola* (Dig. 18. 14), was almost as costly as gold, and would more correctly be described as magna ex parte aenea (Dig. 18. 14) than as merely magna ex parte aurea. I may add (1) that in no passage which I can find does inauratus necessarily mean 'coated with gilding': (2) that its constant use in the poets as a metrical substitute for *aureus* points to the fact that *aliquid inauratum* was in substance very little different from *aliquid aureum*: i.e. that it was gold so alloyed with bronze as to be both workable and durable. ('To coat with gilding' is *extrinsecus* inaurare, Cic. De Div. § 48.) Even in Juv. 13. 151 I see no difficulty in supposing that a solid *femur Herculis* was 'pared,' just as people pared gold coins before the age of milled edges.

What I have here said of *inauratus* hardly applies, I suspect, also to *auratus*: but I have not been able to collect and examine the references. Lucretius speaks of gold mines as *aurata metalla*.

cv.

Mentula conatur Pipleum scandere montem:
Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt.

'Mentula is a bad poet.' No doubt: but Catullus does not write a poem in order to say nothing worse of him than this. The mere word 'Mentula' prepares us for something different. I have little doubt that *scandere* has a *double entendre*, and bears the *sensum obscenum* often found in the Greek *ἀναβαίνειν*, and which seems to underlie the *descendit* of 112. 2: and as little doubt that the same is true in l. 2 of furcillis: for which see Petronius 132 furciferae timore mortifero. Musa was a Roman proper name, and some persons actually bearing that name may here be alluded to. On the other hand, just as Clodia = Lesbia = Musa decima, so perhaps Musae = Lesbii = Clodii, and the allusion is to Lesbia's two brothers. Pipleum montem then = Lesbiae corpus.

cxv.

Mentula habet instar triginta iugera prati
quadraginta arui: cetera sunt maria.

cur non diuitiis Croesum superare potis sit
uno qui in saltu totmoda possideat,
prata arua ingentis siluas saltusque paludesque
usque ad Hyperboreos et mare ad Oceanum?
omnia magna haec sunt: tamen ipse est maximus ultor,
non homo sed uero mentula magna minax.

It is an ungracious task to rescue from the obscurity to which time and accident have consigned them the obscenities of a great poet. But, as in 105, so here, this task seems to devolve upon me. But first I would wish to correct l. 5. Catullus nowhere in his elegiacs allows himself a hypermetric syllable. (At 66. 77 no one but Baehrens accepts Heinsius' expersa | unguentis.) At 64. 298 cum conjuge natisque aduenit, the hypermetric syllable is quite suitable to the epic metre: but just as at 64. 305 Catullus could not write, as I believe, *cum interea* at the beginning of a hexameter, though he elides a monosyllable at the beginning of an elegiac line, so it is highly unlikely that he would allow himself in elegiacs the hypermetric syllable which is the proper licence of the hexameter. In l. 5, then, I would read

prata arua ingentis siluas *sata tesqua* paludes,

which is near to the *ductus litterarum* and will, if what I am going to say of the *saltus Mamurrae* be correct, be seen to be a necessary change. *Saltus* is used in Plautus at least twice of the female *pudenda*. See in particular Casina 922[1]. Anyone who cares to investigate the peculiar situation there described will see that *saltus* can also be used of the male *pudenda*. And it is, I think, so used in this poem of Catullus. Mentula owes his fortune and vast estates to his saltus = membrum uirile. By this he has found favour with 'cinaedus Romulus' (29): 'pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique' (57). With this interpretation we can at once see the meaning of ll. 1, 2,

cetera sunt maria = cetera sunt stupra in maribus.

[1] I may add here that anyone who wishes to interpret 94 'ipsa olera olla legit' correctly should note in this same play l. 912 non fuit quicquam holerum.

I give the lines of Plautus according to the edition of Lindsay.

And just as *maria* has here a twofold meaning so have *prati* and *arua*:—a meaning which may be illustrated from Plautus, Truc. 148 sqq.

Di. uolo habere aratiunculam pro copia hic apud uos.
As. non aruos hic, sed pascuost ager: si arationes
habituris, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust.
hunc nos habemus publicum, illi alii sunt publicani.

With the last line cf. Veneris publicum in 141.

In l. 7 no satisfactory correction has been proposed: perhaps tamen ipse est maximu' saltus.

The sense which I have in this passage given to *saltus* I would of course understand it to bear also in cxiv. The general drift of that poem is:—Mentula has vast estates: an enormous *saltus*: 'saltum laudemus dummodo ipse egeat': I would gladly admit that his *saltus* was fine provided his wealth ended there, i.e. provided his master did not give him the plunder of Gaul and Britain as a reward for it. *dummodo ipse* in 6, however, can hardly stand. Perhaps dum, modo dum, ipse egeat. For modo dum = dummodo, see Culex 230.

B. Lucretius.

A stranger arriving in Rome about the end of April or the beginning of May in the year 55 B.C. would probably have found the whole of Rome talking of one of two things— either the splendid games which Pompey was shortly to exhibit, post hominum memoriam apparatissimi magnificentissimique ludi[1]; or the recent scene in the Senate house in which Cicero had answered triumphantly the savage attack made upon him by Piso Caesoninus. Piso had just returned from Macedonia. Cicero had just come up from Puteoli, where he had been busy upon the *De Oratore*[2]. The speech In Pisonem would be upon everybody's lips: and copies of it were probably already in

[1] Cic. in Pis. 27. 65: cp. Epp. ad Div. 7. 1.
[2] Ad Att. 4. 13.

circulation. At the same time probably upon everybody's lips and in everybody's hands were two poems of Catullus (xxviii and xlvii) written shortly before this date, in which this same Piso was vehemently attacked. One of these two poems (xlvii) is addressed to 'Porcius and Socration, Piso's right hand men at thieving[1].' The other (xxviii) is addressed to Catullus' two friends, Veranius and Fabullus. The theme of both poems is the ill-treatment accorded to these two friends by Piso, of whose proconsular staff they had been members. In xxviii Catullus compares the treatment they had received from Piso with that which he himself had met with at the hands of the propractor Memmius in Bithynia. This same Memmius is also assailed in the tenth poem of Catullus. He is furthermore the Memmius to whom is dedicated the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius. Memmius and Piso had a great deal more in common than a genius for the disreputable and a brute incompetence in the administration of their provinces. Both were keenly interested in literature. Both were students of philosophy, and of the same system of philosophy—the Epicurean. Cicero addresses Piso[2] as 'Epicure noster ex hara producte, non ex schola,' and his language would no doubt have been equally applicable to Memmius. Who Memmius' instructor in philosophy may have been we do not know. The most celebrated Epicurean philosophers of the day were Syron, under whom Virgil studied, Catius perhaps the master of Cassius[3], Amafinius, Phaedrus, Patro, and, lastly, Philodemus, who was the teacher and friend of Piso. Philodemus, besides being a philosopher, was also a poet *utriusque linguae*[4]. Upwards of forty of his epigrams (a few of doubtful authenticity) are still extant in the Greek Anthology: two of them are addressed to Piso. They are chiefly of an amatory character, and many of them are not without merit. The mention of Philodemus in Horace, Sat. 1. 2. 121, though it adds little to

[1] duae sinistrae Pisonis.

[2] In Pis. 16. 37.

[3] Ad Fam. 15. 16.

[4] Of his poems on the various debaucheries of Piso Cicero says that he would read them out in the Senate if they were a little less indecent. These poems therefore must presumably have been written in Latin.

his credit, is sufficient to shew that he was a person of considerable reputation. The evident anxiety of Cicero, in his speech against Piso, to shew as much deference as possible to Philodemus is very interesting. He everywhere makes excuses for him, and mingles with his censure of him a good deal of studied compliment to his ability and culture. The only possible explanation of this is that certain persons who were friends of Philodemus were also friends of Cicero. I would suggest—and the grounds for the suggestion will appear later —that those persons were Trebatius and Q. Cicero[1].

Another Greek *littérateur* in attendance upon Piso was probably the Socration of Catullus xlix. Catullus' two friends, Veranius and Fabullus, were also perhaps aspirants in literature. Memmius appears to have been the friend not only of Lucretius and Catullus, but also of Helvius Cinna. Nor are Memmius and Piso solitary examples of aristocratic Romans who combined military and administrative offices with the study and patronage of literature and of the Epicurean philosophy. Caesar's general, Pansa, and his murderer Cassius, are two other notable examples.

A fashionable literary Rome saturated with Epicureanism: the great administrators of the day, Piso, Memmius, Pansa, Cassius, the patrons of an Epicurean literature and life: their clients men like Lucretius, Catullus, Cinna, Philodemus, Veranius, Fabullus, Socration, Porcius[2]:—such was the Latin culture-aspect of the years 55–54 B.C.: all this Epicureanism (soon to claim Virgil among its adherents) on the one side: a great school of revolt: and on the other side Marcus Cicero and middle-class respectability. Such was the conjuncture at which appeared the poem of Lucretius '—libros...quos postea Cicero emendauit.'

Prima facie, then, Marcus Cicero would seem to be a very unlikely person to edit the poem of Lucretius. To these *prima facie* considerations may be added the facts (1) that in writing

[1] They were persons who were not Epicureans. For, while in this speech Cicero spares Philodemus, he does not spare Epicureanism.

[2] We may perhaps add Sallust, the author of the *Empedoclea* (Cic. Q. Fr. 2. 9).

to Memmius (Ad Fam. 13. 1) he seems to be actually unaware that Memmius is an Epicurean: (2) that in the Tusculan Disputations (e.g. 2. 3. 7) he expressly states that while, like all other persons who are *mediocriter docti*, he is familiar with the tenets of Latin Epicureanism, he has yet never read any Latin works of the Epicurean school (quippe quos non legerim): and he adds, 'cur legendi sint nisi ipsi inter se qui idem sentiunt non intellego.' Against all this we have to set (1) the statement of Jerome that Cicero 'emended' the poem of Lucretius: (2) the fact that Cicero mentions the poem in a letter to Quintus. 'Cicero emendauit,' says Jerome. That Jerome is dependent on Suetonius no one doubts. Nor is it credible that either Jerome or Suetonius could have written 'Cicero' meaning 'Quintus Cicero.' Cicero alone could for either of them mean only the orator. Indeed Suetonius is so careful to guard against a confusion of the two brothers that he more often than not, in his literary works, gives the orator his *praenomen*, writing 'M. Cicero.' He omits the *praenomen* only in cases where confusion would be impossible, e.g. where he refers to some well-known writing of M. Cicero, or in such phrases as 'consule Cicerone' (De Gramm. 9). On the other hand, if Suetonius had written 'Q. Cicero,' it would have been only too easy for the 'Q' to have become lost before the 'C' in some one or more of his MSS. The same accident has, according to Ellis, occurred at Pliny N. H. 38. 81, where our two best MSS have 'Catullus' instead of the 'Q. Catullus' of all the others. If Suetonius had written—and this would be more consistent with his ordinary practice—'M. Cicero,' the 'M.' would be less liable to drop out: and I believe the hypothesis of a lost 'Q' before 'Cicero' is the simplest solution of the difficulties of this much discussed reference of Jerome.

This brings me to the famous letter of Cicero to Quintus (Q. Fr. 2. 9. §§ 4, 5):

'Reliquis diebus, si quid erit quod te scire opus sit, aut etiamsi nihil erit, tamen scribam cottidie aliquid. Pridie Idus neque tibi neque Pomponio deero. Lucreti poemata, ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis Sed

cum ueneris. Virum te putabo si Salusti Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo[1].'

I print the text as it is punctuated by Tyrrell, who first perceived the proper connection of 'Sed cum ueneris.' I see no reason for any emendation. But I am not satisfied with the ordinary interpretation of those who retain the text. They suppose that the *tamen* of *multae tamen artis* conveys an answer to some criticism of Quintus—'the poems of Lucretius have plenty of *ingenium, but* you are wrong in saying that they have not also plenty of *ars*.' They suppose in other words that 'multis luminibus ingeni' belongs to Quintus, and that 'multae tamen artis' is the addition or correction of Marcus. No: the whole sentence is Quintus'. The poems of Lucretius, Quintus had written, are full of *ingenium* and yet full of *ars*. The *tamen* in other words answers an *imaginary* objection: the objection, namely, that there is some irreconcilable antagonism between *ingenium* and *ars*.

Munro comments on this letter thus: 'Four months after the death of Lucretius he (Marcus) and his brother Quintus had read the poem...this seems too short a time for the Ciceros to have read and to be writing about the poem if neither of them had had anything to do with preparing it for publication....Quintus in these months must have been thinking far more of the art of war than of the art of poetry: for in the summer of 700 (54 B.C.) he was fighting as Caesar's legate in Britain and Gaul[2].' Now Lucretius, as I have said, may very well have been dead for a whole year, so that to build on this basis is dangerous. I may note, however, that if he died on

[1] The following considerations will date this letter fairly exactly: (1) the words 'Pridie Idus' etc. refer to the events of Feb. 12, 54 B.C. related in 2. 10: (2) the absence of 'Feb.' after 'Pridie Idus' shews that the letter was itself written in February: (3) if it had been written on either Feb. 10 or Feb. 11, Cicero would have written not 'Pridie Idus' but either 'tertio die' or 'cras.' *Ergo*, the letter was written not earlier than Feb. 1 nor later than Feb. 9.

[2] That Lucretius died in 55 may be taken as certain. That he died on Oct. 15 there is, as I have suggested (p. 58), no strong ground for believing.

For the antithesis *uirum*, 'a man of courage,' *hominem*, one susceptible to the ordinary weaknesses of human nature, see Epp. ad Fam. 5. 17, l. 28 sqq. (to Publius Sestius).

Oct. 15, 54, less than four months will have elapsed between his death and this letter of Cicero. Yet that even within this narrow three months period Quintus could have had plenty of leisure for editing Lucretius, Munro himself must have been quite well aware, for he quotes[1] part of Ep. Q. Fr. 3. 6 [54 B.C.], from which it appears that, amid the actual occupations of war, Quintus found time to write four tragedies in sixteen days. A genius so prolific could easily have 'emended' a book of Lucretius *per diem*. As a matter of fact the sentence 'Lucreti poemata ut scribis etc.' proves nothing more than that in Feb. 54 Quintus had already read with some attention, and Cicero had looked into (and perhaps that was all[2]) some portion of the De Rerum Natura. Had either at this date already 'emended' (I avoid 'edited' intentionally) the poem?

I fancy that the emending, which I believe to have been the work of Quintus, was done at a later date. Cicero speaks of 'Lucreti poemata,' and the most natural explanation of this strange use of the plural is that the poem of Lucretius, left unfinished by its author, was at this time appearing in parts. A few months later we learn from Q. Fr. 3. 6 (already referred to) that Quintus had asked Cicero to collect for the library of his new villa certain Greek and Latin books. What the Latin books were we are not told. 'De Latinis uero,' writes Marcus, 'quo me uertam nescio: ita mendose scribuntur et ueneunt.' This can hardly mean that at Rome Latin MSS generally were worse copied than Greek. Such a condition of things is incredible. It must refer surely to particular books for which Quintus had asked. And I would suggest that these works of which it was so difficult to procure respectable copies were the poems of Lucretius. Quintus was at this time at the seat of war in Gaul. Why, it will be asked, this enthusiasm for Lucretius at such a time and place? What had the legate of Caesar to do with the latest Epicurean tractates? The answer to this question is furnished by Ad Fam. 7. 12. This is a letter written by Cicero in 53 B.C. to his friend Trebatius who, like Quintus, was with Caesar's army. Trebatius had turned

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 2, 3, ed. iv.

[2] This is rather suggested by *sed cum ueneris*.

Epicurean, and was so uneasy about his conversion that he had ceased to write to Cicero, leaving him to learn the news from Pansa. Indicauit mihi Pansa meus Epicureum te esse factum, writes Cicero. Amid some touches of playfulness, he adds with a melancholy seriousness, 'Si plane a nobis deficis moleste fero.' He has a faint hope that Trebatius' Epicureanism may be merely assumed in order to win him advancement. Sin Pansae assentire commodum est, ignosco: if you are merely trying to ingratiate yourself with Pansa I don't mind. Pansa had the ear of Caesar, and thus apparently in the camp of Caesar promotion went by Epicureanism. Cicero might well say 'O praeclara castra.' The Gallic army appears as a very hotbed of Epicureanism. Quintus and Trebatius were together: and Quintus, as we know from his four tragedies written in sixteen days, was in this period full of literary interests. Is it unlikely that, like Trebatius and others in these 'praeclara castra,' he was interesting himself in Epicurean literature? And if in Epicurean literature, in what if not in Lucretius, in whom he was so interested on the very eve of his departure for Gaul? A Roman camp was in some ways very like Rome itself. It had its literary men who wrote and read. It was subject to the literary fashions of the moment. And the literary fashion of this particular moment was Lucretius. It is difficult not to connect the Epicureanism of the Gallic army with the publication of the De Rerum Natura. Quintus Cicero at Samarobriva 'emending' the poem of Lucretius is in no way a stranger figure than Quintus Cicero in the same place writing an 'Electra' (Q. Fr. 3. 6). And if at the same time he was as we know (*ib.*) trying to get for his library certain Latin books of which he could procure only copies 'mendose scripta,' what more likely than that these books were books of Lucretius?

I will not say that everything points to Quintus as the 'emender' of Lucretius. But it may, I think, be said that everything points away from Marcus Cicero and that many things seem to point to Quintus. If either did anything for the text of Lucretius it was Quintus. No doubt, however, the traditional view has this much truth in it, that, through

Marcus, Quintus had the assistance, in the collecting and copying of MSS, of Atticus and Tyrannio.

Lucretius i. 360, 361.

nam si tantundemst in lanae glomere quantum
corporis in plumbo, tantundem pendere par est.

The word *glomus* appears in classical Latin perhaps only here and in Hor. Ep. 1. 13. 14 where it is scanned glŏmus. But *glŏmero* is frequent in the poets: and *glŏmeramen* is used by Lucr. himself. I would suggest that the text of 360 arose from

nam si tantundemst lanae in glomerāīe quantum,

where the lines above the letters ai in glomerāīe (= glomeramine) were taken as marks of deletion, glomere resulting and the words lanae in being then transposed *metri gratia*.

ii. 28. laqueata aurataque templa.

For *templa* edd. restore rightly *tecta*. In Catullus 64. 75 similarly the MSS have, for *tecta*, tempta or templa: where Ellis' *saepta* is quite unnecessary, templa = tēpla = tēpta: and in rustic capitals C and P are frequently indistinguishable. I have noted in Lucr. confusions of C and P at ii. 219: iii. 438: iv. 570: iv. 590: v. 889: v. 1229: vi. 151. This confusion of C and P is no doubt the explanation of the constant interchange in MSS of *pectus* and *tempus* (e.g. Lucr. ii. 46, Catull. lxiv. 73 pectore *Peiper* for *tempore*): tempus = TEPTVS = TECTVS = PECTVS.

iii. 504.

tum quasi uacillans primum consurgit.

In iv. 1124 the MSS have *uigillans* for *uacillans*. I would here therefore propose

tum quasi <se> euigilans *etc.*

iii. 992—4.

sed Tityos nobis hic est in amore iacentem
quem †uolucres† lacerant atque exest anxius angor
aut alia quauis scindunt cuppedine curae.

uolucres seems not possible: the whole point of the passage

is that the punishment is mental and not material. *iacentem* again is, from its position, suspicious. Perhaps

in amore *licentem*
quem luctus lacerant etc.

Or perhaps, comparing iv. 1068 and the context there,

ulcera quem lacerant.

iv. 633—635.

nunc aliis alius qui sit cibus †ut uideamus†
expediam, quareue, aliis quod triste et amarumst,
hoc tamen esse aliis possit perdulce uideri.

cibu' suauis et almus *Munro*: but the correction is palaeographically not probable, and with it ll. 634—5 merely repeat 633. *uideamus* may very well conceal *idoneus*. Perhaps *utu idoneus* was written for idoneus utu (= usu). We should then have to transpose *qui sit* and *cibus*, writing

nunc aliis alius cibu' qui sit idoneus usu.

v. 970.

saetigerisque pares subus siluestria membra
nuda dabant terrae.

Why editors who retain *glōmere* and *uācillans* alter *sūbus* it is difficult to say. Munro reads *subu' sic*, which is very weak. Perhaps, since Lucretius uses *parilis* in i. 1067, we may write here

saetigerisque subus pariles.

The L of PARILES might easily have dropped out.

v. 989.

dulcia linquebant †lamentis† lumina uitae.

Muretus' *labentis* is accepted by most editors: but B and M are but little alike. Surely, in view of the innumerable cases in MSS where g has become lost before a vowel, we ought to read languentis.

v. 1009—1010.

illi imprudentes ipsi sibi saepe uenenum
uergebant: †nudant sollertius ipsi†.

Munro's feeling (when he first corrected to *nuptis nunc dant* sollertiu' sponsi) that *ipsi* in 1010 was corrupt, was surely a right one. I would propose

<ui>num damni sollertia sumpsit,

which is, I think, at any rate nearer the *ductus litterarum* than any other suggested correction: 'Modern skill in ruining oneself (modern skill in extravagance) has adopted wine.'

v. 1442.

tum mare ueliuolis florebat propter odores.

Perhaps

tum mare ueliuolis florebat protinu' proris:

i.e. PROTĪV PRORIS for PROPTERDORIS.

'Forthwith the sea blossomed with sails.' The picturesque *florebat* requires a 'forthwith.' Most editors correct *tum* to *iam*.

vi. 755.

sed natura loci †opus efficit† ipsa suapte.

If as a synonym for sulphur (747) we could tolerate *pus* I would suggest

sed locu' natura pus efficit ipse suapte.

H. W. GARROD.

METEMPSYCHOSIS AND VARIATION OF SPECIES IN PLATO.

That Plato was in earnest with his theory of transmigration of souls admits to my mind of little doubt. True, it implies the continued personal existence of particular souls, which, as he must himself have been fully aware, Plato never succeeded in demonstrating. Nevertheless we see him so constantly passing from an enunciation of the indestructibility of soul universal to the assumption of permanent existence on behalf of particular souls, that we can hardly avoid the conclusion that for him the immortality of our separate conscious personalities, as such, was a rooted conviction. This has indeed been denied, and that by weighty authorities: but the denial has never been based upon convincing argument. The existence of a plurality of finite and personal intelligences was, as I hold, for Plato a fundamental and immutable ontological necessity: and though this does not involve the continuance of any given intelligence as the same conscious personality, it would seem as if Plato, as a matter of private belief, always thought of the scheme being carried out in this way, save only in so far as this self-consciousness might be subject to modification by the conditions of any particular transmigration. In other words, personal immortality is for Plato a pious belief about the mode in which a peremptory ontological necessity works itself out: that is to say, the Absolute Intelligence pluralises itself for ever in the same set of continuous existences, not in a series of intelligences the continuity of whose identity is broken.

This being so, it is not surprising that the Metempsychosis commended itself strongly to Plato, furnishing him as it did with a potent instrument for the enforcement of his ethical

lessons, invested with the dignity of the most venerable traditions, and hallowed to the Hellenic mind with the immemorial sanctity of ancestral wisdom. Accordingly in several of the Platonic dialogues we see it standing forth in the most impressive aspect, generally amid mythical surroundings, but always with an earnest moral purpose. Especially in the *Phaedo*, though hardly less in the *Republic*, does Plato use this as a means of emphasising the supreme importance of neglecting nothing that may aid the growth of the soul in virtue and fortify her against the inroads of vice.

Now in the two dialogues mentioned, as well as in the *Phaedrus*, no serious difficulty is offered by the theory of Metempsychosis: it slips easily into its place in the teaching of the three dialogues; and no farther trouble seems necessary. But in the *Timaeus* it is otherwise. Here Metempsychosis is inextricably interwoven with the fabric of Plato's cosmogonical scheme; and its position there gives rise to problems of the greatest interest and of not less difficulty. The aim of this paper is to define the nature of these problems, and, if possible, to suggest a method of solving them.

First it may be convenient to inquire what Plato has to tell us on the subject outside the *Timaeus*, in order that we may get a comprehensive view of his position.

(1) *Phaedrus* 248 c foll. At the time when the Gods go to hold high festival and gaze upon the realities which are above the heavens, they are followed by a multitude of inferior spirits who strive to keep up with their divine leaders and to feast their eyes upon the Truth. Now all such as succeed at all in this retain their position for at least another *περίοδος*; but those that fail sink to earth and are endued with an earthy body. But all such as have at some time caught a glimpse of Truth, never at this first incarnation pass into the form of any beast, but into some human form, in which they are distributed according to a fixed order of merit, which is in some respects curious, but hardly concerns our present purpose. Thence to the place from which they fell they return not for ten thousand years, save only the soul of the philosopher, whose probation endures but for three thousand years. Meanwhile they under-

go such purgatory as is fitting: and at the expiration of one thousand years they come ἐπὶ κλήρωσίν τε καὶ αἵρεσιν τοῦ δευτέρου βίου, which they choose at their own pleasure. It is at this stage that a human soul may enter the body of a beast, and a beast-soul (provided it has previously been incarnated in human form) may enter a human body.

One or two points in this story are to be noted. First there is not unrestricted freedom of interchange as between human beings and the inferior animals: for no soul who has not some time or other gazed upon the truth may be incarnated in human form; though any soul who has once seen the truth may regain her position by passing from a bestial to a human body. Again the period of probation, 3000 years for the philosopher and 10,000 for the others, is to be regarded as a minimum. Only the souls who δικαίως διάγουσι receive their plumage in the specified time. Thirdly, as in the *Republic*, the selection of the subsequent lives depends on a combination of κλήρωσις and αἵρεσις: the method is not explained; but it is reasonable to suppose it is similar to that described in the *Republic*.

(2) *Republic* 614 B foll. The souls of those who die on earth are conveyed to a marvellous region (τόπος δαιμόνιος) where are entrances upwards into heaven and downwards into hell, and corresponding exits therefrom. Here are judges sitting who pass sentence on the souls according to their works: some they dismiss through the gate of heaven, some through the gate of hell. In either case the soul's sojourn endures (with certain exceptions) for 1000 years. When this period has elapsed they come back through the gates of exit and abide in the meadow there for seven days. On the eighth they journey onward, and after many and marvellous adventures are brought into the presence of Lachesis. She, through her Interpreter, distributes among them lots whereby to determine the order of their choosing of their future lives; after receiving which they proceed to the spot where the Interpreter has set before them "samples of lives." Here they come up one by one, according to the number which each has drawn, and make choice as they will. Their choice is absolutely unfettered, or limited only in

the case of late-comers by the stock of *παραδείγματα* remaining. But their choice is guided for the most part by the character and experiences of their foregoing life: thus Orpheus chooses the life of the melodious swan; Aias that of a lion, disdaining human form because of the treatment he had received at the hands of men; Atalanta that of a famous athlete; and finally *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*, sick of toil and travelling, chooses the peaceful lot of an *ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ἀπράγμων*. Then they once more go before Lachesis, who appoints for each soul a *δαίμων* to carry out the provisions of the life that has been chosen: and the *δαίμων* takes the soul to Clotho to receive her sanction for what has been done, and to Atropos, that she may render the doom irrevocable. Then under the guidance of the *δαίμονες* the souls pass beneath the knees of Necessity over the plains of Lethe amid stifling heat and drought, until they come to the river Ameles, of whose waters every soul is forced to drink a certain measure. There they fall asleep: but at midnight comes a storm of thunder and lightning, and they all flit asunder like shooting stars, every soul to her new incarnation.

Now it appears to me that the most striking peculiarity of this tale is the almost complete freedom of choice granted to the souls. Their new habitation is not selected for them by the higher powers in correspondence with their behaviour in a previous existence; but they are at liberty to choose for themselves. Indeed this point is brought out with special emphasis in the first address of the Interpreter: *οὐχ ὑμᾶς δαίμων λήξεται ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς δαίμονα αἱρήσεσθε*, and it is strictly in keeping with the general spirit of the whole passage, which throws entire responsibility upon the individual choice: *αἰτία ἑλομένου· θεὸς ἀναίτιος*. And a little farther on (618 B) Plato uses these remarkable words: *ψυχῆς δὲ τάξιν οὐκ ἐνεῖναι διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν ἄλλον ἑλομένην βίον ἀλλοίαν γίγνεσθαι*. This I take to mean that the choice exercised by each soul was not of ethical or psychical qualities but of definite circumstances of life, which influenced the character of the soul which chose that life. It is true that in 620 D we hear that unrighteous beings adopted the forms of savage beasts, while the righteous passed into the gentle kinds: but this also appears as a perfectly free choice.

This seems to me to differentiate the statement in the *Republic* from all the other Platonic accounts of transmigration.

Another interesting statement (619 D) is that the souls who arrived from a heavenly sojourn were more liable than those who came from the subterranean region to make a rash and calamitous choice, *ἅτε πόνων ἀγυμνάστους*. For these people, like those who are virtuous *θείᾳ μοίρᾳ* in the *Meno*, had lived in easy-going rectitude, *ἔθει ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας ἀρετῆς μετειληφότες*. Accordingly, when the time of trial came, they had no safeguard within themselves, and lacking the sure guidance of reason they were beguiled by unstable impulse.

I do not know that anything else calls for remark: but on the whole the treatment of Metempsychosis in the *Republic* is of striking and special interest.

(3) *Phaedo* 81 E foll. The account given in the *Phaedo* is brief and simple. Plato first remarks that souls which quit the body *διειλημμέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς* carry away with them so much of their material investiture that they are actually visible to human eyes. Such shadowy phantoms may be seen flitting about places of burial, which they haunt for love of the bodies they have lost and for dread of the unseen world, until at last their hankering after materiality leads them to reincorporation in earthly bodies. And the bodies they enter correspond to the dispositions they have shown in their foregoing life: those who were addicted to gluttony, drunkenness, and lust enter the bodies of asses; the unjust and tyrannous are incarnated as wolves, hawks and kites: whereas those who have led kindly and harmless lives, but destitute of philosophy, become bees or wasps or ants, or else are reincarnated in human form. The philosopher alone undergoes none of these vicissitudes, but passes at death to the company of the Gods.

Now, so far as I am able to see, none of the statements which we have examined present us with any great philosophical difficulty: it is not till we come to the *Timaeus* that we find ourselves in deep waters: and it is to the *Timaeus* that we now have to turn.

There are two passages in this dialogue which bear upon the subject; and it may be as well to translate them in full.

(4) *Timaeus* 41 D foll. "And when he had compounded the whole, he portioned off souls equal in number to the stars and distributed a soul to each star; and setting each in a star as in a vehicle he showed them the nature of the universe and declared to them its fated laws: how that the first incarnation should be ordained to be the same for all, that none might suffer disadvantage at his hands: and how they must be sown into the instruments of time, each into that which was meet for it, and be born into the most god-fearing of all living creatures; and whereas human nature was twofold, the stronger was that race which should hereafter be called man.... (42 B) And he who lived well through his allotted time should be conveyed once more to a habitation in his kindred star and there should enjoy a blissful and congenial life: but failing of this he should pass in the second incarnation into the nature of a woman; and if in this condition he would not turn from the evil of his ways, then, according to the manner of his wickedness, he should ever be changed into the nature of some beast in such form of incarnation as fitted his disposition, and should not rest from the weariness of these transformations, until by following the revolution that is within him of the same and uniform, he should overcome by reason all that burden that afterwards clung around him of fire and water and air and earth, a troublous and senseless mass, and should return once more to the form of his first and best nature."

(5) *Timaeus* 91 D. "The tribe of birds was transformed, by growing feathers instead of hair, from men that were harmless but light-minded; who were students of the heavenly bodies, but fancied in their simpleness that the demonstrations were most sure concerning them which they obtained through the sight. And the race of brutes that walk on dry land comes from those who sought not the aid of philosophy at all nor inquired into the nature of the universe, because they used no longer the revolutions in the head, but followed as their guides the parts of the soul that are in the breast. From these practices their front limbs and their heads were by their natural affinity drawn towards the ground and there supported, and their heads were lengthened out and took all sorts of forms,

just as the orbits in each were crushed out of shape through disuse. For the same reason such races were made four-footed and many-footed; for God gave many props to the more senseless creatures, in proportion as [reading ὅσῳ for ὡς] they were more strongly drawn earthward. As to the most senseless of all, whose whole bodies were altogether stretched on the earth, seeing they no longer had any need of feet, God made them footless to crawl upon the ground. And the fourth class, that lives in the water, was formed of the most utterly foolish and senseless of all, whom they that transfigured them thought not worthy even of pure respiration, because their soul was polluted with all manner of iniquity; but in place of inhaling the fine pure element of air, they were thrust into the turbid and lowly respiration of water. Hence is the tribe of fishes and of all shell-fish that live in the water, which have the uttermost dwelling-place in penalty for the uttermost folly. In such manner, then and now, all creatures change places one with another, rising or falling with the loss or gain of understanding or of folly."

Here we have, especially in 91 D, as precise and detailed statements as any to be found in Plato's writings. But, occurring in the *Timaeus* as part of a cosmogonical exposition, they seem to me to give food for thought of a very intractable kind. The minor difficulties need not give us much anxiety. For instance, in the first passage there is a confusion between sexual and specific difference which is as bad metaphysically as it is physiologically. But we may set it down to a temporary aberration caused by current Athenian prejudice, and so dismiss it from consideration. Nor need we unduly concern ourselves with the failure of Plato's stages of degeneration in the second passage to correspond with scientific classification. It may seem a little odd that a land snail should rank higher (as presumably it must) than such vertebrate creatures as fishes; but we no more care to ask Plato for scientific zoology than for a knowledge of modern astronomy or geology. These are matters of no importance. But the really serious difficulty lies in this. Both passages affirm that the variety of animal species arises only by degeneration from the human species: and in

the first passage this is reinforced by the statement that this arrangement was made by the Artificer with a deliberate purpose, *ἵνα μή τις ἐλαττοῖτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.*

But this is ontologically a pure impossibility. This assertion sounds dogmatic; and perhaps at this point a brief confession of faith is required of me. I hold with Proclus and the best of the ancient Platonists, besides not a few modern interpreters, that the cosmogonical scheme unfolded in the *Timaeus* is not a history of events happening in time and space, but a picturesque representation of a logical process outside time and space, of the eternal evolution of Thought. The reasons for this are manifold, but obviously they cannot be set forth here. I will only say that any who maintains the contrary view may perchance pass dryshod through the flood of Metempsychosis, but will indubitably encounter other torrents and sloughs enough to occupy all his attention—that is, if he has any respect for Plato's intelligence.

If then this is so, if there is no question of time involved in the process expounded in the *Timaeus*, what is the consequence? In 39 E it is explicitly stated that the *ὁρατὸς κόσμος* must have all the kinds of mortal creatures of which there are ideas in the *νοητὸς κόσμος*. These are classified under four heads, *οὐράνια*, *πτηνὰ καὶ ἀερόπορα*, *ἔνυδρα*, and *χερσαῖα*. Under these fall all the living creatures that exist in the universe. Now since the *ὁρατὸς κόσμος* is the everlasting image of the eternal archetype, these have been in existence from everlasting to everlasting: they have been without a beginning, and they shall be *in saecula saeculorum*[1]. Therefore, quite apart from the *ἀτοπία* of the perfection of the universe being brought about by a

[1] Here it may fairly be asked, What of the extinction of sundry species, the plesiosaurus, the mastodon, and many another? a process of extinction which unhappily goes on to our own day. The question is interesting, but I do not propose to offer any answer. Plato, for obvious reasons, has given none; and the most I could do were to say what answer he might or would, in my opinion, have given. I will only say that Plato unquestionably contemplated such a thing as extinction of species (*Timaeus* 89 B): and I am convinced there is room in his system for a great deal of Darwinism. But in the absence of any pronouncement on his part, all theorising on the subject would be merely conjectural.

process of degeneration, it is, as I said above, simply impossible that there was ever a time when, below the Gods, human beings alone existed, and the inferior animals were not at all.

Now what are we to make of this? One thing is abundantly clear: the two passages which I have cited cannot be understood in their full literal significance, as expressing an order of things which ever existed in the universe. Nor can I see what metaphysical verity can be emblematically hinted at in the evolution of all the other animals from the human race.

On the other hand, considered as an ethical manifesto, the two passages are highly important and by no means to be disregarded: nay more, they have their necessary place in the ontology of the *Timaeus*.

For if we put together the three passages to which I have referred, I think we get the result that we have an ontological cause of variety side by side with an ethical cause of variation: and we may perhaps regard the second as constituting the method in which the first is worked out.

The supreme *νοῦς*, we say, assumes plural existence in the form of a multitude of finite intelligences, which have been and shall be throughout all ages without beginning or end. Now there are certain types of life, or Ideas, according to which this pluralisation is worked out: hence we have *νοῦς* existing as man-souls, cat-souls, tree-souls, and the rest. Thus we have variety as an ontological necessity inherent in the nature of things. But, let us remember, it is one and the same Soul that is manifesting itself in each and all of these forms of soul, and its substance is immutable. Accordingly the difference between the various forms of soul is not permanent nor inherent; it is due to environment. The soul of a beech-tree is as truly a "piece" of Soul as the soul of a man: the limpet may "suffer a sea-change," but it is not debarred from rising in the scale *κτήσει νοῦ καὶ ἀνοίας ἀποβολῇ*. Here then steps in our ethical law of variation, which ensures that through all ages variety is maintained. As Plato assures us in so many words, all living creatures are perpetually interchanging their places among one another according to their behaviour in each several incarnation. There is no bar to this, because the supreme Soul

differentiates itself, not into various *kinds* of soul, but into various *grades* of soul; the gradation being due to circumstances. Had *νοῦς* evolved itself specifically into swan-souls and rose-souls, swans and roses they must have remained for ever. But now the eternal necessity of variety works itself out by the everlasting law of variation.

We must then dismiss the *γένεσις πρώτη* as a figure of speech used by Plato with a moral intention and without ontological significance: for there can be no *γένεσις πρώτη* in a series of *γενέσεις* which is infinite in both directions. The *γένεσις* of mankind (if we eliminate the Gods, who of course do not come into question) we may regard as *logically πρώτη*: but that is all.

I see no reason for not accepting literally Plato's statement that for certain souls a state of permanent felicity is in store. Such souls will of course be exempt from transmigration. I think, however, both in view of Plato's language and of metaphysical considerations, such cases must be regarded as rare and exceptional. Such beings would no doubt be invested with immortality, and would thus be practically placed on a level with the Gods: a condition against which the Artificer takes special precautions. If this process of beatification were carried out on anything like a large scale, the balance of existence would be seriously dislocated, variation would gradually be banished from the nature of things, and *τελευτῶντα πάντ' ἂν λῆρον τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀποδείξειεν.* Still amid the enormous number of animate beings it seems possible that some may rest in a stable condition of permanent goodness and happiness. But I think Plato clearly regarded this as the exception, not as the rule.

We need not, on the theory which I have been advocating, postulate two causes for variation, one ontological and one ethical: rather should we regard the cause as an ontological necessity, working through an ethico-physical law. The latter we find prominent in all Plato's statements on the subject: the ontological necessity only reveals itself in the *Timaeus*. The *Timaeus* then rounds off the Platonic teaching on Metempsychosis, and alone enables us to define the exact position

of the theory in the Platonic system. That position may be summed up as follows. The self-evolution of the supreme *νοῦς* proceeds according to definite animal types existing in the *νοητὸν ζῷον*. These ideal types must have their material counterparts as *ὁρατὰ ζῷα* in the visible universe. And the fulfilment of this inevitable necessity is brought about by a law operating throughout limitless aeons of animate existence, a law of variation incessant and inexhaustible, which has secured the presence of variety in the animal kingdom from everlasting to everlasting. Of course under the term "animal" we include also "vegetable." Plato does not indeed expressly include any vegetable forms in his catalogue; but it is so manifestly impossible and illogical to exclude them that we are amply justified in taking this for granted.

Thus the *Timaeus* enables us to recognise the metaphysical significance of Metempsychosis as no less weighty than the ethical: that in fact the two are indissolubly bound up together. This result we are able to attain by refusing to place a literal interpretation on a phrase occurring in the most obscure and difficult portion of Plato's cosmological allegory: a literal interpretation of which is moreover absolutely impossible, unless we are willing to follow Aristotle in imputing to Plato the egregious absurdity of generating the universe in time.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

ON ARISTOTLE *PHYSICS* Z ix 239^b 33 – 240^a 18.

(Zeno's Fourth Argument against Motion.)

The general character of Zeno's Fourth Argument against Motion is commonly admitted to be clear enough: but anyone who takes the trouble to examine it more closely finds himself confronted with problems of which it is far from easy to find a satisfactory solution. On two important points there is much uncertainty. In the first place, however little doubt we may feel as to its general purport, it is by no means a simple matter to determine the precise form in which the details of the argument itself were worked out: and in the second place very divergent views may be taken of its real significance. It was a desire to attempt a solution of the first of these two problems that originally led me to write this paper: but as this involved a consideration of the whole subject, I came to the conclusion that it might be well to say something also about the second.

I. For the details of the argument we have to depend upon Aristotle's statement of it in the sixth book of the *Physics*: and a very short examination of the passage in question will serve to show that there are two principal causes that make the interpretation of it a matter of no slight difficulty. In the first place the text of the passage is uncertain in places where the change of a single letter completely alters the course of the reasoning: and in the second place, whatever readings we may decide to adopt in these places, Aristotle states the argument in such a summary fashion as to leave us in perplexity not only as to the intermediate steps to be supplied in it but even as to the exact conclusion to which it is intended to lead. The former source of trouble is no doubt to a large extent the outcome of the latter: there would be a great

temptation for a scribe puzzled by Aristotle's conciseness to alter a letter here and there, if by so slight a change he could reduce the argument to a form that seemed to him coherent.

Simplicius in his commentary on the *Physics* makes a praiseworthy effort to expand and elucidate Aristotle's words: but since his time the only serious attempt, so far as I am aware, to grapple with the difficulties of the passage is that of Prantl (*Symbolae Criticae in Aristotelis Physicas Auscultationes:* Berolini: 1843). Prantl is very severe on Simplicius: but to my mind the ancient commentator in his understanding of this, as of other, passages of the *Physics* comes very much nearer the truth than the modern. I shall not criticize Prantl's view in detail, because his whole interpretation is made to depend upon an assumption that for all its ingenuity appears to me quite impossible. He assumes that one of the rows of *moving* ὄγκοι—οἱ ἐφ' ὧν τὰ BB (240ª 5)—is to be identified with the στάδιον, and this in spite of the fact that this argument of Zeno's is referred to by Aristotle himself at the beginning of the present passage (239ᵇ 33) as ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κινουμένων ὄγκων: "nec offendere potest" he says "quod stadium ipsum moveri dicatur; saepius enim auctor affirmat, perinde esse, num nos moveamur an res". Now Aristotle does no doubt assert the truth of this proposition where it suits his purpose to do so (*e.g.* in the passage in this same book of the *Physics* from which Prantl quotes a single sentence without its context—εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἄπειρον τὸ πεπερασμένον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ πεπερασμένον διιέναι τὸ ἄπειρον· οὐθὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ὁποτερονοῦν εἶναι τὸ κινούμενον· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ τὸ πεπερασμένον δίεισι τὸ ἄπειρον—238ᵇ 2: here Aristotle is reminding us of a truth that is strictly relevant to the issue): but in the present context the assertion of it would at best be purely gratuitous, since the argument could be constructed very much more simply without it. Nor in fact can any such assertion be found in our present passage: if Prantl is right, we have to assume that it is merely implied in Aristotle's statement, in which case it would be difficult to acquit him of wilfully misleading us. If I remark

'The lamp-posts in Piccadilly were moving very fast this evening', I can hardly complain of any misunderstanding that may arise, unless I am careful to explain that what I really mean is that I was running to catch an omnibus. Yet Prantl would have us believe that Aristotle, after describing the argument that he is about to illustrate as 'that concerning the two rows of bodies, each row being composed of an equal number of bodies of equal size, passing each other on a race-course', expects us to understand in what follows that one of these two rows of *moving* bodies is spoken of as a row of *stationary* bodies, while the race-course is to be found masquerading as 'a row of moving bodies equal in number and in size to the stationary bodies'. Nor can we throw the responsibility upon Zeno, whom we may suppose Aristotle to be closely following in his presentment of the argument. Whatever may be thought of Zeno's logical ability, it is certainly not his custom to obscure his illustrations at the outset with any mathematical subtlety not necessitated by the argument: and any graphic touches that he introduces, as for example when he speaks of 'Achilles and the tortoise' instead of merely 'the quicker and the slower', are designed simply to give an air of reality and vividness to the occurrence that he wishes to present to the imagination of his audience. But here there can be no such justification, unless indeed the reader is intended to identify himself for the moment with one of the two rows of moving bodies. Anyone travelling in a railway train might, if he desired to be picturesque, describe the telegraph-posts as 'rushing past the carriage window': but if in relating one's experiences on a station platform one were to remark 'At this moment the platform rushed past another express', it is hard to discern any added impressiveness that may be held to justify so unusual a form of expression. To do him justice, Prantl does not seem quite so easy in his mind at the end of his exposition as he was at the beginning. In spite of his previous pronouncement quoted above ("nec offendere potest, quod stadium ipsum moveri dicatur") we find him subsequently saying "in eo quidem aliquis haerere possit, quod stadium et ipsum currere debeat, altera vero eorum corporum, quae

moveri debeant, stent,—sed mathematica ut ita dicam necessitate cogimur, ut hanc explicationem sequamur". An apparent discrepancy between mathematics and common sense is no new thing: but I am confident that in preferring an explanation more in accordance with common sense than that of Prantl I shall do nothing to offend the most scrupulous of mathematicians.

I shall first give the text of the passage accompanied by a translation.

239b 33 Bekker.] Τέταρτος δ' ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ κινουμένων ἐξ ἐναντίας ἴσων ὄγκων παρ' ἴσους, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τέλους τοῦ 35 σταδίου τῶν δ' ἀπὸ μέσου ἴσῳ τάχει, ἐν ᾧ συμβαίνειν 240a οἴεται ἴσον εἶναι χρόνον τῷ διπλασίῳ τὸν ἥμισυν. ἔστι δ' ὁ παραλογισμὸς ἐν τῷ τὸ μὲν παρὰ κινούμενον τὸ δὲ παρ' ἠρεμοῦν τὸ ἴσον μέγεθος ἀξιοῦν τῷ ἴσῳ τάχει τὸν ἴσον φέρεσθαι χρόνον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ψεῦδος. οἷον ἔστωσαν οἱ ἑστῶτες 5 ἴσοι ὄγκοι ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ΑΑ, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ΒΒ ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τῶν Α, ἴσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτοις ὄντες καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ΓΓ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου, ἴσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες τούτοις καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ἰσοταχεῖς τοῖς Β. συμβαίνει δὴ τὸ πρῶτον Β ἅμα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ εἶναι καὶ 10 τὸ πρῶτον Γ, παρ' ἄλληλα κινουμένων. συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ Γ παρὰ πάντα τὰ Α διεξεληλυθέναι, τὸ δὲ Β παρὰ τὰ ἡμίσῃ· ὥστε ἥμισυν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον· ἴσον γὰρ ἑκάτερόν ἐστι παρ' ἕκαστον. ἅμα δὲ συμβαίνει τὰ Β παρὰ πάντα τὰ Γ παρεληλυθέναι· ἅμα γὰρ ἔσται τὸ πρῶτον Γ καὶ τὸ πρῶ- 15 τον Β ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐσχάτοις, ἴσον χρόνον παρ' ἕκαστον γινόμενον τῶν Β ὅσον περ τῶν Α, ὥς φησι, διὰ τὸ ἀμφότερα ἴσον χρόνον παρὰ τὰ Α γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, συμβαίνει δὲ παρὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ψεῦδος.

240a 5 ἀρχόμενοι—6 τῶν Α.] Cf. ἀρχομένους μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ σταδίου, τελευτῶντας δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῶν Α Simplicius.

11] πάντα τὰ Α FKE² Simplicius. πάντα τὰ Β E¹HI Bekker Prantl. | τὸ δὲ Β E Simplicius. τὰ δὲ Β FKHI Bekker Prantl.

The fourth argument is that concerning the two rows of bodies, each row being composed of an equal number of bodies of equal size, passing each other on a race-course as they proceed with equal velocity in opposite directions, the one row originally occupying the space between the goal and the middle point of the course and the other that between the middle point and the starting-post. This, he thinks, involves the conclusion that half a given time is equal to double that time. The fallacy of the reasoning lies in the assumption that a body occupies an equal time in passing with equal velocity a body that is in motion and a body of equal size that is at rest, an assumption which is false. For instance (so runs the argument) let *AA*... be the stationary bodies of equal size, *BB*... the bodies, equal in number and in size to *AA*..., originally occupying the half of the course from the starting-post to the middle of the *A*'s, and *CC*... those originally occupying the other half from the goal to the middle of the *A*'s, equal in number, size, and velocity, to *BB*.... Then three consequences follow. First, as the *B*'s and the *C*'s pass one another, the first *B* reaches the last *C* at the same moment at which the first *C* reaches the last *B*. Secondly, at this moment the first *C* has passed all the *A*'s, whereas the first *B* has passed only half the *A*'s and has consequently occupied only half the time occupied by the first *C*, since each of the two occupies an equal time in passing each *A*. Thirdly, at the same moment all the *B*'s have passed all the *C*'s: for the first *C* and the first *B* will simultaneously reach the opposite ends of the course, since (so says Zeno) the time occupied by the first *C* in passing each of the *B*'s is equal to that occupied by it in passing each of the *A*'s, because an equal time is occupied by both the first *B* and the first *C* in passing all the *A*'s. This is the argument: but it presupposes the aforesaid fallacious assumption.

I now proceed to comment. My translation will be felt in more than one place to stand in need of justification. In the first place it will be noticed that I translate the words *ἴσον εἶναι χρόνον τῷ διπλασίῳ τὸν ἥμισυν* 'that half a given time is equal to double that time'. It will be remembered that I said above that Aristotle's statement leaves room for doubt even as to the exact conclusion to which Zeno's argument is intended to lead. It is true that the conclusion as ordinarily given is commonly taken to be obviously right. I take it to be obviously, if slightly, wrong. The ordinary view is represented by Zeller, who says, as though there could be no doubt about the matter, "Zeno ventures to conclude that in order to traverse the same space at the same speed only half the time is necessary in the one case that is necessary in the other". Zeno does undoubtedly draw this inference: but I should say that it forms only the half-way stage of his argument, the final conclusion being given in the words of my translation, 'that half a given time is equal to double that time'. It may be said no doubt that the point is of little or no importance, since either conclusion would serve Zeno's purpose equally well: having proved the former to his own satisfaction he could have nothing to gain by going on to prove the latter. On this there are two things to be said. In the first place, if there is any doubt about the matter, it is clearly of importance that we should make up our minds about it: whatever we may think of the comparative merits of the two conclusions in themselves, we can hardly hope to disentangle the thread of the argument as given by Aristotle unless we have a clear notion of the precise conclusion that it is designed to prove. In the second place, although from a modern point of view the conclusion given by Zeller may seem as good or as bad as that given by me, it may reasonably be doubted whether it would have seemed so to Zeno. I fancy Zeno would have considered that, the more extravagant the paradox, the greater would be the cogency of the argument: thus, just as he preferred to prove about Achilles (*τὸ τάχιστον*) what he need only have proved about *τὸ θᾶττον*, so here he would probably think it worth while to prove, if he

could, that a given time is equal not only to its half but to its double as well. But, it may be said, why need the second conclusion be separately demonstrated? If it is wanted at all, can it not be added as an obvious and immediate inference from the first? Such criticism is plausible at first sight: but a little consideration will show that it has little real weight. We must always remember that mathematical inferences that are obvious enough to us at a glance were often by no means obvious to the Greek of Zeno's time, and for a very sufficient reason: there was no algebra, and in all such mathematical demonstrations as the present it was necessary to employ the longer and more cumbrous methods of geometry. My view is, then, that Zeno is concerned to show by means of the same diagram that, on the assumption that motion is possible, it follows that, if two equal rows of equal *ὄγκοι* (whatever this term may denote) pass one another with equal velocity, one row in traversing a certain distance will occupy the same time, half the time, and double the time, that is occupied by the other row in traversing an equal distance: and from this follows the conclusion that I have stated.

My reasoning so far has been mainly negative in character: but I hope I have succeeded in showing that my statement of Zeno's conclusion cannot fairly be objected to on *a priori* grounds. I hope now to show that it is not only harmless but necessary, if we are to make sense of the passage as we have it in Aristotle. The actual words in which the conclusion itself is expressed (*συμβαίνειν οἴεται ἴσον εἶναι χρόνον τῷ διπλασίῳ τὸν ἥμισυν*—239^{b} 35) are perhaps ambiguous, and I do not wish to press them too closely: nevertheless I submit that my rendering gives the natural—I do not say the necessary—sense of the Greek, a sense that would seem to be indicated still more clearly by the paraphrase of Simplicius—*τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἴσον χρόνον ἅμα διπλάσιόν τε καὶ ἥμισυν εἶναι*. So far as the words themselves go, it is possible no doubt to take *διπλάσιος* and *ἥμισυς* simply as correlatives, so as to give the meaning—'that a given time stands to itself in the relation of two to one': but if this were the sense intended, one would expect to see it expressed in a less

ambiguous form, which would have been easily attainable: *e.g.* εἶναι χρόνον διπλάσιον ἑαυτοῦ. At any rate the words can perfectly well bear the meaning that I assign to them: and I think most people would agree that they bear this meaning more naturally than any other[1]. But far more important than any merely verbal criticism is the evidence afforded by a careful investigation of the steps of the succeeding argument. As I have said above, Aristotle's conciseness inevitably makes this a perplexing task: but it seems to me that an initial misconception, slight in itself, of the ultimate issue has tended to make of it an insoluble problem. If the conclusion is what it is ordinarily supposed to be, what is to be made of the final passage (ἅμα δὲ συμβαίνει τὰ B κτλ—240ᵃ 13) with which Aristotle finishes his statement of the argument? Owing to its extreme brevity this passage is difficult enough to explain satisfactorily on any hypothesis: but on the ordinary hypothesis it would appear to be not only difficult but otiose and irrelevant, since the desired conclusion (ὥστε ἥμισυν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον—240ᵃ 12) has already been reached: thus it can be regarded apparently only as containing something of a supplementary nature, though it is not easy to see what that something is, or in fact that any such supplement is necessary or desirable. Moreover the opening words, ἅμα δὲ συμβαίνει, following as they do συμβαίνει δή (240ᵃ 9) and συμβαίνει δέ (240ᵃ 10), naturally lead us to expect, not something merely supplementary to the main argument, but a result of some importance. Accordingly it is in this passage, difficult as it is, that I look for the true conclusion of the argument: and if it is expanded as I have expanded it in my restatement, I think it will be seen to contain, at any rate implicitly, the conclusion which I consider to be right. Thus I differ from those who take the ordinary view of the argument in supposing, first, that the precise form of the conclusion is not that which is usually given, and secondly, that not *two* but *three* deductions are

[1] I am glad to be able to say here that I submitted my view of this passage to the late Dr Rutherford, who told me that he entirely agreed with the interpretation here given.

drawn, each introduced by the word *συμβαίνει*, and each giving a result inconsistent with that given by either of the others. So understood, Aristotle's account of the argument, though still somewhat perplexing, becomes tolerably coherent.

A few details remain to be considered. My translation of the words *ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τῶν* A (240ª 5), 'originally occupying the half of the course from the starting-post to the middle of the *A*'s', may perhaps be regarded as scarcely warranted by the words of the text. Nevertheless the expression was certainly understood in this sense by Simplicius, "qui falsa ac perversa de hoc loco disputavit" according to Prantl, who, in order to give the words what he considers their natural sense, indulges, as I have tried to show, in perversity of a much more startling kind. Simplicius paraphrases the words as follows—*ἀρχομένους μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ σταδίου, τελευτῶντας δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῶν* A: and I see no reason why they should not bear this meaning. I would draw special attention to the word *ἀρχόμενοι*, which I take to indicate, not the *point of departure* ('beginning to move'), but the *point from which the eye begins to measure* ('extending'): in fact I very much doubt whether it could have here the former meaning, which would seem to require either a different verb altogether (*κινούμενοι* or *ὁρμώμενοι*) or, if *ἀρχόμενοι* is retained, the addition of an infinitive (*κινεῖσθαι*) or a genitive (*τῆς κινήσεως*). In this connexion it should be noticed that the next words to those quoted above from Simplicius are these—*κινουμένους δὲ τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τοῦ σταδίου*, his sense of the distinction thus being clearly marked. The expression *ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου*, then, like *ἀπὸ τέλους* and *ἀπὸ μέσου* above (239ᵇ 34, 35) and *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου* below (240ª 7), must be explained by reference to the point of view of an imaginary person standing at the *ἀρχὴ τοῦ σταδίου*: that is to say, in their original position the *C*'s stretch *from* the end of the course, and the *B*'s *from* the middle point of the course, *in the direction of* anyone occupying that position: thus there will be no reference to the direction of the respective *motions* of the two sets of *ὄγκοι*. To the reader the employment of

these expressions in the sense that I have given to them may seem somewhat odd: but it may be doubted whether it would have seemed so to an audience in a lecture-room, where of course Aristotle would be continually pointing to his diagram. Similarly I have no hesitation, as will be seen from my translation, in giving to *ἐσχάτῳ* in 240ª 9 a different sense from that which I give to *ἐσχάτοις* in 240ª 15. As a matter of fact, one MS (H) inserts Γ after *ἐσχάτῳ* in 240ª 9 and *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ* B after *τὸ πρῶτον* Γ in 240ª 10. This of course would make the sense quite clear: but for the reason given above I do not think there is any real objection to the ordinary reading.

In 240ª 11 I adopt, not without MS authority, the readings of Simplicius, who mentions no others. Instead of *πάντα τὰ* A and *τὸ δὲ* B respectively Bekker and Prantl (in both his editions) read *πάντα τὰ* B and *τὰ δὲ* B. I quite fail to see what sense can be extracted from the second of these two readings, nor is any enlightenment to be derived either from Bekker's Latin or from Prantl's German translation: *τὸ δὲ* B is surely required in order to balance *τὸ* Γ immediately preceding, for which reason I regard it as unquestionably right. The propriety of reading *πάντα τὰ* A rather than *πάντα τὰ* B is not so clear, since the required sense may be obtained with either reading, the only difference being that, according as we adopt one or the other, we have to suppose the omission of a different step in the argument. With *πάντα τὰ* A, it is true, we have an apparent *non sequitur*: but *πάντα τὰ* B, though it avoids this and therefore may appear at first sight the more attractive reading, raises difficulties at least equally great with regard to the interpretation of the following *παρὰ τὰ ἡμίση*. On the whole I am content to trust Simplicius, who is fully aware of the difficulties of the passage: and I think that a little amplification, such as I give in my paraphrase below, is all that is needed to show that from Zeno's point of view no real *non sequitur* is involved. Moreover it is much more likely that *πάντα τὰ* A should have been altered to *πάντα τὰ* B than *vice versa*, the common-place truth expressed by the latter being so much more apparent

and attractive to the ordinary intelligence than the Zenonian truth given by the former.

I will now conclude this part of my paper by giving what I consider to be a fair representation of the argument in a more modern and more intelligible form than that of Aristotle's statement.

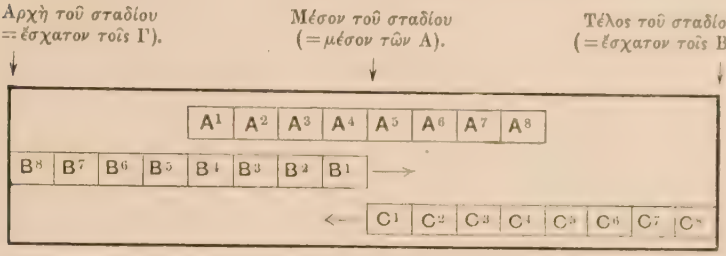


Fig. 1 (240ᵃ 4).

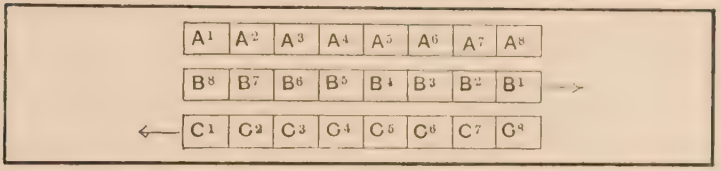


Fig. 2 (240ᵃ 9).

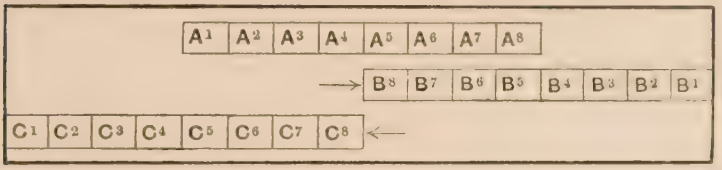


Fig. 3 (240ᵃ 13).

Let C^1 have reached B^8 at the moment M in the time T.

Then at the same moment M—

(1) Since B^1 and C^1 are travelling with equal velocity, B^1 must have reached C^8 ($=A^8$) and must have occupied the same time as C^1. Therefore B^1's time $= T$.

(2) C^1 must have travelled a distance equal to A^1—A^8, since (α) it has passed all the B's, (β) each B = each A, (γ) spaces of equal size must be traversed in equal times if the speed be equal. B^5, however, has only travelled the distance A^5—A^8. Therefore B^5, having travelled only half the distance, can have occupied only half the time that has been occupied by C^1. Therefore B^5's time $= \frac{T}{2}$.

(3) C^1 must have completed the course, since having started at the middle point of the course it has travelled a distance equal to A^1—A^5 (= half the course). Therefore B^5 must also have completed

the course. But for this to have happened (that is to say, for all the B's to have passed all the C's) twice as much time must have elapsed as was necessary to enable C^1 to reach B^8. But the time occupied by C^1 in reaching $B^8 = T$. Therefore B^1's time $= 2T$.

Thus at the same moment M the time occupied since the start by B^1 is both $\frac{T}{2}$ and $2T$. Consequently, if motion is possible, half a given time is equal to double that time, which is absurd. Therefore motion is impossible. Q. E. D.

II. In passing on to the second part of our problem, we at once enter upon ground of a very different and much more treacherous character, of which I do not intend in this paper to cover more than a small part. The determination of the precise *form* of Zeno's argument is no easy matter: but here at any rate there is a fairly general agreement as to the nature and extent of the difficulties, if not as to their solution. But when we propose to consider the *significance* and intrinsic merits of the argument, we are confronted at the outset with the fact that the great majority of critics, from Aristotle onwards, see no difficulty about the matter at all: they are quite content to say that the argument has no significance beyond what appears on the surface, that its intrinsic merits are non-existent, and that it need not be treated seriously, since the whole of the reasoning depends upon a simple and obvious fallacy. If Zeno really does make the crude and unqualified assumption that Aristotle lays to his charge, it cannot be denied that this general condemnation is justified. But in France a totally different view has prevailed. Several writers in *La Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale* and elsewhere—notably Bayle, Noel, Brochard, Milhaud, and Paul Tannery—contend with much acuteness that Zeno has been completely misunderstood; that not only must the argument be treated seriously, but properly understood it is perfectly valid: and in England this view has recently found an ardent advocate in Mr Bertrand Russell. Such a complete divergence of opinion on the part of experts is certainly startling and might well deter the less competent from presuming to intervene: but I shall venture nevertheless to explain as shortly as I can why I incline to the latter view as against the former. My

excuse for doing so is this. It seems to me that, whereas the ordinary view refuses to take account of anything beyond the actual words of Aristotle's text, the critics of the French school approach the question too much from the standpoint of modern mathematics: and in what I have to say on behalf of Zeno I shall endeavour to lay more stress upon the point of view of antiquity than his defenders seem hitherto to have done.

Now it must surely be conceded that purely on *a priori* grounds the ordinary view of this argument is scarcely satisfactory. The apparent obviousness of the so-called fallacy ought in itself to put us on our guard. Zeno may often be fallacious, but he is at least artistic in his fallacies. Mr Russell has no hesitation in pronouncing the four arguments against motion to be "all immeasurably subtle and profound": and so far as the first three at any rate are concerned few would probably disagree with this judgment. Not only are Aristotle's attempted refutations of them quite unsuccessful, but they have taxed the ingenuity even of modern logicians: in fact Mr Russell goes so far as to maintain that the third argument—'the flying arrow'—is unanswerable and embodies an important philosophical truth. Fallacies there may be: but a mind of exceptional acuteness is needed to point them out. This being so, is it at all probable that the very obvious fallacy that is said to underlie the fourth argument should not have been apparent, I will not say to Zeno himself—his detractors would no doubt credit him not only with committing but with concealing it—, but to any of his contemporaries who were gifted with moderate intelligence? It may be said perhaps that such a thing would not be at all surprising in the propounder of the puerile 'paradox of predication' and those who were foolish enough to be puzzled by it. To this I would reply that the cases are not really parallel. However ridiculous this paradox may appear to us now after the lapse of many centuries of logical progress, in the fifth century B.C. it constituted a very real difficulty, and that not merely to the man of average intelligence, but even to Plato himself. We are apt to forget how much the mere existence of the word 'rela-

tion' means to us nowadays in dealing with abstract ideas: and from this point of view Zeno's 'paradox of predication' may be said to mark an important epoch in the history of philosophy on its logical side. Very different is the fallacy imputed to him in connexion with the present argument. No complicated logical process is needed to dispose of it: all that is necessary is to expose and dismiss it, as Aristotle dismisses it, in a single sentence pointing out that an assumption already made in the argument is ignored. Of such an elementary mistake I believe the author of the other three arguments against motion to be incapable: and I therefore prefer to adopt an interpretation that acquits him of the charge of having committed it. So far as mere verbal correctness is concerned, I see no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Aristotle's statement of the argument: but I agree with the French critics in thinking that his unqualified imputation of an obviously false assumption to Zeno is based upon a complete misunderstanding of the occasion and purpose of the argument. Nor is there anything unreasonable about this supposition. Careful and impartial as Aristotle shows himself to be in the main, we need look no farther than his criticism of certain parts of Plato's teaching for evidence that in criticizing the views of other people he had not always the time or the patience to look for a deeper meaning beyond the obvious and literal sense of the words.

The view of Noel, who is in substantial agreement with Tannery, may briefly be stated as follows. Whereas the first two arguments against motion are addressed to those who assert the infinite divisibility of space and time, the second two are directed against those who deny that space and time are infinitely divisible, and as such they are perfectly valid. So far as the first two arguments are concerned, this view would, I suppose, be generally accepted. The third is considered by Mr Russell to be valid against everybody: but this point need not concern us here. The fourth argument I believe to be intended for those, and those only, who would attempt to evade the first two by denying the infinite divisibility of space and time: and therefore I agree with Noel

in holding that in these four arguments Zeno is confronting his opponents with a dilemma, of which the first horn can with difficulty be rebutted, while the second horn is necessarily fatal.

I cannot here discuss all the reasons that can be urged in favour of this view: but apart from the fact that the futility of the argument as usually interpreted is quite unworthy of one so subtle as Zeno, there is one point in particular that to my mind tells strongly in favour of the French interpretation. I refer to the use of the word *ὄγκος*. If by *ὄγκοι* Zeno means 'bodies' in general and nothing more, his choice of the word here is surely somewhat odd. I wish to draw special attention to this point, because I think it has hitherto hardly received the attention it deserves. It would seem to have been Zeno's practice to make his arguments as picturesque as possible; to add force to them where he could by presenting them in such a manner as to call up in the minds of his hearers a vivid picture of some actual moving thing. Hence we have Achilles and *ἡ φερομένη ὀϊστός*— not *ὁ φερόμενος ὄγκος*, which would have sufficed for the purposes of the argument. Similarly here we should expect to have our imagination excited by a picture of chariots and horses rather than unedifying 'bulks' or 'masses'. It may of course be said that the choice of the word *ὄγκος* is not Zeno's but Aristotle's. This, however, is improbable. In quoting the third argument Aristotle keeps not only the word *ὀϊστός* but its unusual gender as well: why in quoting the fourth should he substitute for Zeno's word, whatever it may have been, a more colourless word of his own, especially as he does not alter *στάδιον*? It is surely more natural to suppose that, just as the third argument was familiarly known as *ἡ φερομένη ὀϊστός*, the title of the fourth was *οἱ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ φερόμενοι ὄγκοι*. And if it can be shown that the word *ὄγκος* is perhaps not quite so colourless as it seems, we shall have some reason for believing that it was deliberately chosen by Zeno because no other word would serve his purpose equally well.

Tannery tells us that the word *ὄγκοι* means 'points' and

was used in this technical sense by certain Pythagoreans, against whom he supposes Zeno to be arguing: and in support of this contention he refers to Heraclides of Pontus and Xenocrates, though without giving references to any actual passages upon which his interpretation is based. The passages of which he is thinking are presumably the following—

Stobaeus *Eclogae Physicae* i 18: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ξενοκράτης ἐκ μικροτέρων ὄγκων τὰ στοιχεῖα συγκρίνει, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐλάχιστα καὶ οἱονεὶ στοιχεῖα στοιχείων (though it may be noticed that in the corresponding passage of Plutarch—*De Placitis Philosophorum* i 17—the name of Xenocrates does not occur):

Galen *Historia Philosophiae* 244 Kühn: Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθενται τῶν ὅλων:

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* xiv 23: οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους μετονομάσαντες ἀμερῆ φασὶν εἶναι σώματα τοῦ παντὸς μέρη, ἐξ ὧν ἀδιαιρέτων ὄντων συντίθεται τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύεται....ὄνομα δέ, φασίν, αὐτοῖς ἄλλο Ἡρακλείδης θέμενος ἐκάλεσεν ὄγκους.

But, while I fully believe that some such theory of matter as that referred to in the above extracts is the object of Zeno's attack, I have some hesitation as to the propriety of unreservedly translating ὄγκοι 'points': the Greek word so obviously suggests magnitude that it is hardly likely that it would have been used *consciously* to denote that which is without magnitude. Nor do I think that we are justified in describing the theory Zeno is confuting as 'Pythagorean'. This is a word that is often used with far too little discrimination in view of the slight evidence that we possess for determining the distinctive tenets of the school of Pythagoras: and certainly there seems to be no sufficient reason for its use here. In the first place, it must be remembered that both Xenocrates and Heraclides lived about a century later than Zeno, who cannot therefore have been influenced by their use of the word ὄγκος in a 'Pythagorean' sense. In the second place, it is very questionable whether either of them ought strictly to be described as a Pythagorean at all. Xenocrates,

however much he may have been influenced by Pythagorean doctrines, was scholarch of the Academy and therefore primarily a Platonist. About Heraclides we have very little definite information. He is said, it is true, to have studied Pythagoreanism: but he appears also to have come under the influence of Speusippus and Aristotle and to have been generally a person of eclectic tendencies. The fact, therefore, that either Xenocrates or Heraclides held the particular theory of matter implied in the use of the word ὄγκος certainly cannot be held to prove that the theory in question was distinctively Pythagorean. In the third place, there is a certain amount of evidence that this theory—the theory that space (or matter) is not infinitely divisible—was *not* Pythagorean: we learn from the tradition preserved in the *De Placitis Philosophorum* of Plutarch (i 16) and the *Eclogae Physicae* of Stobaeus (i 15) that οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου held that σώματα are τμητὰ εἰς ἄπειρον. On the other hand, Plutarch's treatise proceeds immediately to attribute the theory to the *atomists*: they, it is said, held περὶ τὰ ἀμερῆ [*sc.* τὰς ἀτόμους] ἵστασθαι, καὶ μὴ εἰς ἄπειρον εἶναι τὴν τομήν. Moreover it should be noticed that in the passage quoted above from Eusebius it is the minute and indivisible particles of the *atomists* that are said to have been denoted by the word ὄγκοι. It is true that the use of the word in this special sense is there attributed to Heraclides: but it seems clear that it was not as a Pythagorean but as an atomist that he used it.

I think it probable, therefore, that in his fourth argument against motion Zeno is refuting certain persons who deny the infinite divisibility of space and time, but that these persons are not Pythagoreans but atomists, if that term may be used to describe not only the followers of Leucippus and Democritus but those of Anaxagoras and Empedocles as well. We cannot determine with any degree of certainty the precise form in which Empedocles stated his physical doctrine: but it is at least probable that he regarded each of his four elements as composed of minute and indivisible particles (στοιχεῖα στοιχείων). In this connexion a remark of Aristotle's is worth noticing—σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν ὥσπερ

καὶ Λεύκιππός φησιν (*De Generatione et Corruptione* A i 325^{b} 5). Further I think it probable that Empedocles or his followers used the word ὄγκοι to denote these particles. Against this it may of course be urged that in the tradition preserved by Eusebius in the passage already quoted this use of the term is said to have been the invention of Heraclides Ponticus, and that it cannot therefore have been known to Zeno. How Tannery (who does not mention Empedocles) would meet this objection I do not know. But in any case no great reliance is to be placed upon traditions of this sort. Moreover it appears to have escaped Tannery's notice that in the Plutarch-Stobaeus tradition this use of ὄγκος is mentioned in connexion with the name of Empedocles—Ἐμπεδοκλῆς {δ' Plutarch / καὶ Ξενοκράτης Stobaeus} ἐκ μικροτέρων ὄγκων τὰ στοιχεῖα συγκρίνει, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐλάχιστα καὶ οἱονεὶ στοιχεῖα στοιχείων (Plutarch *De Placitis Philosophorum* i 17, Stobaeus *Eclogae Physicae* i 18), with which we may compare (for the theory, though not for the use of the word) another statement about Empedocles—Ἐμπεδοκλῆς [περὶ ἐλαχίστου probably a heading] ἔφη πρὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων θραύσματα ἐλάχιστα, οἱονεὶ στοιχεῖα πρὸ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμοιομερῆ (Stobaeus *Eclogae Physicae* i 15). Various accidental causes might account for the fact that the invention of the term was ascribed to Heraclides Ponticus. One in particular occurs to me as possible. Anyone reading the account given of him by Diogenes Laertius can hardly resist the conclusion that Heraclides, though in his way a by no means uninteresting personality, must have been conspicuously lacking in a sense of humour. He seems to have possessed many peculiarities of person and of temperament that contributed to make him a notorious character and a familiar target for the wit of his contemporaries. Among other things, so Diogenes tells us, ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι: and from certain stories told of him it is sufficiently clear that ὄγκος was a characteristic not only of his body but of his mind. Is it not conceivable that, even though he was not the originator of the above-mentioned technical sense of the word, his habitual

employment of it in this sense may have helped to give currency to the expression ὁ Ἡρακλείδου ὄγκος with another and a larger meaning?

That Heraclides did use the word in this special sense is probable enough, but the tradition crediting him with the *invention* of it as a technical term is dubious and not always consistent: moreover it seems clear that it must have been not as a 'Pythagorean' but rather as an 'atomist' that he used it. On the other hand it is possible and even probable that the technicality emanated from Empedocles or his followers, who would find some such term convenient in the exposition of what was an entirely novel theory of the composition of matter. It is this Empedoclean doctrine that I suppose Zeno to be criticizing —a doctrine, it should be noted, with the refutation of which we should naturally expect him to concern himself for the following reason. Parmenides, the teacher of Zeno, occupies an important place in the history of philosophy in that he was the first philosopher to draw a clear distinction between *metaphysics*, the study of reality, and *physics*, the study of appearance. According to him it is only the One that exists and is the object of knowledge: the Many do not exist, but only appear, and are the object not of knowledge but of opinion. Zeno adopts his master's metaphysical monism: but whereas Parmenides accords a certain measure of recognition to the Many as constituting a legitimate field of study from the point of view of opinion, though not from that of knowledge, Zeno chooses to ignore physical speculation altogether. He devotes all his energies to defending his master's cardinal doctrine, that 'the One exists': and he supports this proposition not by positive but by negative arguments, by means of which he would take from the Many even that existence which they seem to have. We have an excellent summary of his philosophical position in the words put into his mouth by Plato in the *Parmenides* (128 C):—ἔστι δὲ τό γε ἀληθὲς βοήθειά τις ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα [*sc.* Zeno's book] τῷ Παρμενίδου λόγῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας αὐτὸν κωμῳδεῖν, ὡς, εἰ ἓν ἔστι, πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα συμβαίνει πάσχειν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐναντία αὑτῷ· ἀντιλέγει δὴ οὖν τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα πρὸς τοὺς τὰ πολλὰ

λέγοντας, καὶ ἀνταποδίδωσι ταὐτὰ καὶ πλείω, τοῦτο βουλόμενον δηλοῦν, ὡς ἔτι γελοιότερα πάσχοι ἂν αὐτῶν ἡ ὑπόθεσις, ἡ εἰ πολλὰ ἔστιν, ἢ ἡ τοῦ ἓν εἶναι, εἴ τις ἱκανῶς ἐπεξίοι. Now Empedocles was apparently a somewhat older contemporary of Zeno, and Diogenes Laertius quotes Alcidamas as saying that he was, like Zeno, a disciple of Parmenides: but while Zeno accepts the One and rejects the Many, Empedocles in an equally one-sided manner, if not in the same controversial spirit, rejects the One and accepts the Many. In his efforts to prove the existence of the One by showing the absurdities that must follow from the attribution of existence to the Many, Zeno would inevitably be brought into collision with the teaching of Empedocles, who may fairly be regarded as the first of the scientific pluralists: for Anaxagoras, as Aristotle tells us, though τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος, was τοῖς ἔργοις ὕστερος. The Empedoclean cosmology, besides being the earliest of the confessedly pluralistic systems, is a pluralistic system of the most pronounced and thorough-going character: plurality is everywhere, unity nowhere: and existence is attributed to the Many in just the sense resented and ridiculed by Zeno.

On *a priori* grounds, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that in his arguments against the believers in the Many Zeno would have Empedocles and his system especially in mind. Nor are we completely dependent upon *a priori* evidence. We have it on the authority of Suidas (*s.v.* Ζήνων) that Zeno's works included not only a treatise Πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους περὶ φύσεως but an Ἐξήγησις τῶν [or τοῦ] Ἐμπεδοκλέους. Zeller considers it highly improbable that Zeno could have been the author of any such work. In view of the antagonistic character of the respective philosophic tendencies of Zeno and Empedocles it is no doubt scarcely conceivable that the former could have written an 'explanation of' or 'commentary on' the latter's system. But there is no need to suppose any such thing. Diels (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin*, 1884, page 359, note 2) shows clearly that the term ἐξήγησις could perfectly well be used to denote a work of a polemical character: thus we are told by Diogenes Laertius that Heraclides Ponticus wrote Ἡρακλείτου Ἐξηγήσεις and Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον

Ἐξηγήσεις, which must have been controversial treatises. We have no reason, therefore, to discredit the tradition that ascribes to Zeno the authorship of 'A Critical Examination of the System of Empedocles'.

My conclusion is, then, that in his fourth argument against motion Zeno is especially concerned to refute certain pluralists (and Empedocles in particular) whose scientific theories as to the structure of matter involved the view that matter is not infinitely divisible but divisible ultimately into units (ὄγκοι) occupying a certain amount of space and yet not themselves divisible: for, though it will make no difference to the validity of Zeno's reasoning whether we regard these units as 'points' in the mathematical sense or not, it ought to be clearly recognised, as Tannery himself recognises, that, if ὄγκοι be translated 'points', these 'points' must be supposed to have magnitude. The word ὄγκος itself of course inevitably connotes magnitude, and this is probably one of the main reasons why Zeno seizes upon it. For the theory that matter is not infinitely divisible really amounts to saying that a given magnitude is composed of a finite number of parts so small that there can be nothing smaller. You may call these particles 'points': but so long as a finite number of them can compose a magnitude, each of them, while not having parts, must necessarily itself have magnitude. It is this mathematical monstrosity that gives Zeno his opportunity: and what Aristotle regards as a false assumption—*τὸ μὲν παρὰ κινούμενον τὸ δὲ παρ' ἠρεμοῦν τὸ ἴσον μέγεθος ἀξιοῦν τῷ ἴσῳ τάχει τὸν ἴσον φέρεσθαι χρόνον*—is in reality a perfectly valid deduction from the theory criticized, so that against any such pluralistic theory of matter as that traditionally attributed to Empedocles Zeno's reasoning must be absolutely conclusive.

It must be remembered that for us the problems of Greek mathematics are somewhat complicated by the fact that in Greece mathematical demonstrations were geometrical rather than analytical in character. Bearing this in mind, we may perhaps make the nature of Zeno's argument clearer in the following manner. Referring once more to the diagram, we see that the motion of the *C*'s is relative both to the *B*'s, which

are in motion, and to the *A*'s, which are not. Let us suppose, then, that the respective position of the *B*'s and the *C*'s has changed from that represented in Figure 1 to that represented in Figure 2. Now, in reaching the position that it occupies in Figure 2, C^1 must have been opposite each of the eight *B*'s in succession, and at the moment when it was opposite each *B* it must also have been opposite an *A*. But two moments are necessary to enable it to have been opposite two successive *B*'s: and it cannot have been opposite the same *A* at both of these two moments (which would mean that it was at rest, whereas *ex hypothesi* it is in motion): nor can it at one and the same moment be opposite part of one *A* and part of another (which would mean that the *ὄγκοι* were divisible, whereas *ex hypothesi* they are *ἀμερεῖς*). Consequently, at each of the two moments C^1 must have been opposite a different *A*, and therefore at the moment when it has passed eight *B*'s it must also have passed eight *A*'s, notwithstanding the fact that the *B*'s are in motion while the *A*'s are at rest. Thus we see that the responsibility for regarding *τὸ πρῶτον* Γ as *ἴσον χρόνον παρ' ἕκαστον γινόμενον τῶν* B *ὅσον περ τῶν* A must rest not with Zeno, who makes no unwarranted assumption, but with those who maintain the initial absurdity that an *ὄγκος* can be *ἀμερής*.

So interpreted, Zeno's argument is perfectly sound. The ordinary interpretation makes him guilty of a blunder that could not fail of detection even in days when logic was in its infancy. Zeno may not have been a great thinker: but it cannot be denied that his reasoning powers were extraordinarily acute, and that this acuteness is abundantly illustrated in his first three arguments against motion. We should do well to hesitate, therefore, before attributing a fallacy that is not even plausible to a reasoner of whom Plato consistently speaks, if not with enthusiasm, at any rate with respect.

In conclusion I gladly acknowledge the help I have received from my friend Mr G. H. Hardy, mathematical lecturer at Trinity College, in my endeavour to avoid transgressing the bounds of 'mathematica necessitas'.

R. K. GAYE.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
19 *March*, 1907.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE.

The question of the site of the battle of Lake Trasimene has been much discussed in recent years. The debate between Messrs Grundy and Henderson upon the subject took its rise from an article by the former in *Journal of Philology* XXIV. (1896) 83 *sqq.* (cf. *Classical Review*, X. (1896) 284), maintaining the traditional theory of the site—that it was near Tuoro. Mr Henderson challenged the correctness of this view, *ibid.* XXV. (1897) 112, and Mr Grundy replied in pp. 273 *sqq.* of the same volume, Mr Henderson returning to the charge in XXVI. (1899) 203 *sqq.*

Having examined the site with some care in September, 1907, I should wish to state my views on the point, without entering upon lengthy discussions of method. On reading the two articles in Vol. XXV. of the *Journal*, I was struck with the fact that both authors assumed (pp. 115, 282) that the course of the modern road was identical, in the main, with that of the ancient one. Anyone who has much experience of Italian topography will agree with me that such an assumption is a most dangerous one: and I shall try to show briefly that it has led both of them into mistakes which they might otherwise have avoided.

I approached the site from Terontola station, on a bicycle, and was struck, almost directly after I had passed the village, by a track cutting off the bend of the modern road to the S.W. of Monte Girella. Examination showed that this track had been the highroad until comparatively recent times: and proceeding straight on past the group of houses called La Spelonca, I saw the prolongation of this abandoned highroad

going straight on over the hill, while the modern road swept off to the S.S.E., keeping as much as possible on the level and avoiding the difficulties by a long detour in a way entirely out of keeping with what I have observed on Roman roads in Italy. On ascending the hill (the road was still good enough for cycling in parts) I found myself on a narrow saddle between the Monte Gualandro on the N. and the nameless hill, the top of which is 382 mètres above sea-level, on the S. On descending on the E. side, I came to some cottages, where I was informed that the modern road had been constructed so recently as 1816, to give work to the inhabitants of the district in a year of famine.

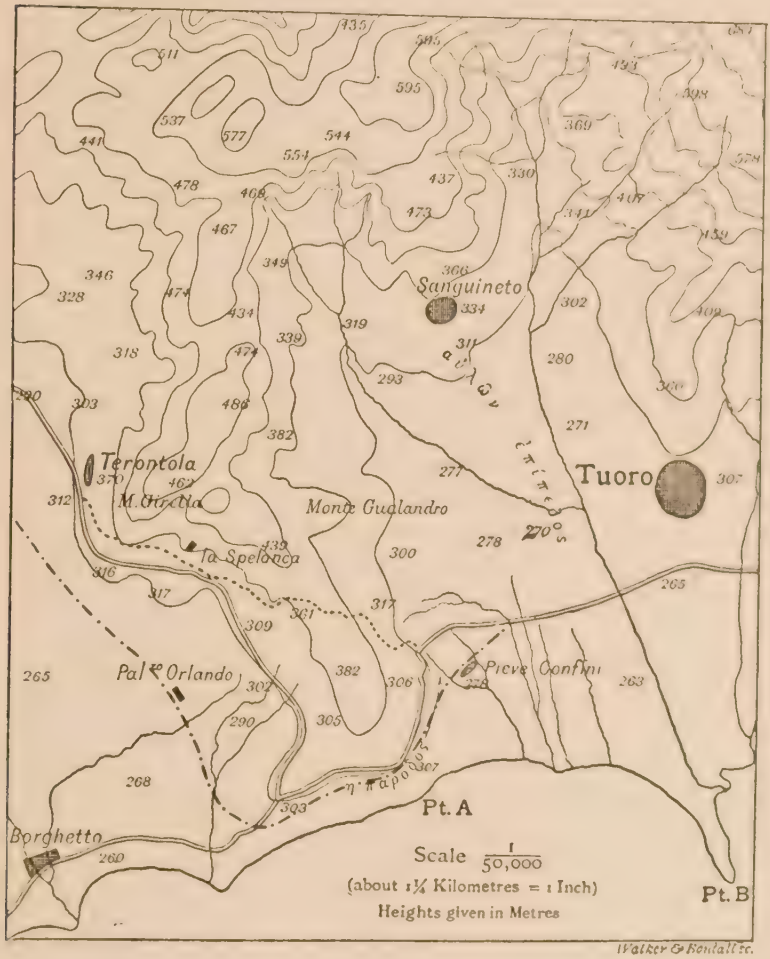
The road I had so far been following, was indeed the road in use from the 16th century onwards. A map of the territory of Perugia, drawn in 1577 by Ignazio Danti, and engraved at Rome by Mario Cartari in 1580, exhibited at the exhibition of Umbrian art at Perugia in 1907, shows the road following this course (*Catalogo della Mostra*, p. 225, no. 1) and subsequent maps agree with this indication, *e.g.* in the Nuova Carta Geografica dello Stato Ecclesiastico drawn up by Maire and Boscovich and dedicated to Benedict XIV. the road is shown as passing by Monte Gualandro (which marks the frontier of Tuscany) just S. of Tuoro and so to the edge of the lake, which it does not reach until it arrives E. of Tuoro.

The passage between the Monte Gualandro and point 382 would be quite an easy one to close in the rear of an army that had once gone through it, descended the hill, and entered the plain of Tuoro. But Polybius' description of the *αὐλὼν* as having *κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς λίμνην τελείως στενὴν ἀπολείπουσαν πάροδον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν παρώρειαν* (III. 83. 1) will not suit a *πάροδος* between two hills.

But there is another alternative[1]. It seems to me quite possible that the ancient road may have followed the track which diverges from the modern highroad a little to the S. of the village of Riccio, and runs S.S.E., keeping to the low ground, just below the hills, and on the E.N.E. side of the railway. The soil here is soft, it is true, but at the so-called

[1] The two possible alternatives are marked with different dotting in the map (p. 119).

Palazzo Orlando (merely a modern farmhouse) the track is about 10 feet wide, and runs in a cutting some 8 or 10 feet deep, flanked with old trees on each side. Further S. it dies out for a little, being interrupted by cultivation; but to the S.W. of



point 308 on the modern highroad it may be seen ascending to the latter. It crosses this and keeps S.W. of it, but still above the edge of the lake, touches the highroad at point 307 (above Mr Grundy's point A), and then turns N.E., descending sharply.

The so-called Pieve Confini, at point 278, is a Romanesque church of the 12th century, on the S.E. edge of the road: and it is very improbable that the course of the road had changed already when this church was built.

If we accept this line in general as the ancient line, it seems to me difficult to admit the probability (possibility I will not say) of the road having ever passed below the cliffs at point A. There are a few loose stones about which may be due to the lake having once washed the foot of the cliffs: but having regard to the fact that a heading was driven out from the middle of the railway tunnel to the lake at this point, and used to carry out the spoil from the excavation (a large heap of this spoil may still be seen there), I should be sorry to found any argument upon the existence of loose stones here. Nor are there any traces of the road further along, where the lake has presumably receded; and, to my thinking, the passage between point 382 and the cliffs at point A, above the lake, might quite well suit Polybius' description of the *πάροδος*. In regard to this, therefore, I should be inclined to accept Mr Grundy's *second* view of the *πάροδος*—Mr Henderson is, from the purely argumentative standpoint, quite right in insisting on the rather sudden change of opinion (*Journal cit.*, XXVI. 204, 205). The point which I desire to make quite clear is this—that the one impossible line for the ancient road is that followed by the modern highroad.

Another question of course arises, as to whether there *was* a road there at all in 217 B.C. The road from Arretium to Cortona and Perusia, whence it went on to Asisium and Fulginium, is a branch road from the Via Cassia to the Via Flaminia. Now, the road from Bononia to Arretium was not constructed until 187 B.C. by the consul C. Flaminius, so that the Via Cassia, according to this, should be later still (Livy XXXIX. 2; Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, III. 1670). But it seems impossible to suppose, considering especially the importance of Arretium in the Hannibalic wars, that the Romans had no direct communication with it, and that even in 187 B.C. they could only reach it by way of Bononia: so that this objection need not be further considered.

I am not prepared to entirely deny the possibilities of Mr Henderson's site for the battle: his *αὐλὼν* certainly exists, though it is a good deal smaller than the Tuoro basin, and I think too small altogether. And it must be allowed that it is impossible to make the *αὐλὼν* west of Tuoro satisfy Polybius' description in both regards; unless we admit with Mr Grundy that there is a change of point of view, or unless we suppose that Flaminius struck N. up the Sanguineto valley, which however, considering that Flaminius had just come from the N., is an almost impossible supposition. And this is in favour of Mr Henderson's view. On the other hand, he is expressly neglecting Livy's *ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasummennus subit*: and I think on all other grounds that the Tuoro site is to be preferred—especially on the ground that it is most improbable that Hannibal would not have seized the first point at which the enemy could conveniently be awaited and surrounded. The change of point of view must, I think, be admitted—as it is by the latest German investigators.

Reuss in *Klio* VI. 226 *sqq.* arrives at the same conclusion as Mr Grundy. He turns the main difficulty by translating *διελθὼν τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*, "Hannibal hat den Talkessel den See entlang durchquert" (p. 235), and at the same time assuming, as Fuchs does also in *Wiener Studien*, XXVI. (1904) 118 *sqq.*, that the description of the *αὐλὼν* was made by one who had taken his standpoint on the shore of the lake S. of the station of Tuoro, so as to have the lake behind him. He also rejects Fuchs' attempt to identify *τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον* with the hill of Montigeto, which lies 4 km. E. of Tuoro and 2 km. W. of Passignano, and leaves only a narrow passage (250 m.) between itself and the lake, on the grounds that, to one coming over the hill or round the shore into the flat valley of the Sanguineto, the shore plain appears to be quite sufficiently closed by the hill of Tuoro, which comes within 1 km. of the lake, and that if Hannibal *had* occupied the hill of Montigeto, he would probably have been able to prevent the escape even of the 6,000 men of the advance guard. Here too the Romans could only have been taken on the left flank.

Fuchs and Nissen, indeed, wrongly (as Reuss p. 243 points out) take the *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος* to be, not the valley of the Sanguineto, but the level ground along the north shore of the lake, the former supposing that the *πάροδος* by which the Romans marched was along the line followed by the railway at point A, *i.e.* keeping quite close to the lake—a view with which, as I have said, I am not prepared to agree[1].

The question about the camp by the lake seems to me a minor point: a large army of 40,000 or 50,000 men would take up sufficient space for part of it to extend to the lake even if the road followed the upper course S. of Monte Gualandro. If on the other hand it passed through the low ground, then no difficulty remains.

This short note cannot pretend to be more than a contribution to the solution of a difficult problem, but it may perhaps lead to the abandonment of the fundamental error (in which Fuchs *op. cit.* 120 also shares—while Reuss does not seem to realize the point at issue) of supposing that the modern road follows the ancient line.

[1] I may add that Fuchs seems to me, as he does to Reuss (*op. cit.* 227—230), to be right in determining the marshes which gave so much trouble to Hannibal (III. 78. 6) to be, not those of the Arno between Pistoia and Florence or those between Viareggio and Pistoia, but those of the upper Arno valley above Arezzo (Hannibal having thus crossed the Passo dei Mandrioli from Forli, which is, after all, by far the shortest way from Parma to Arezzo), and that he did not actually go to Fiesole, but turned his march in that direction to avoid Arezzo, which Flaminius held.

THOMAS ASHBY.

TACITUS AS A MILITARY HISTORIAN IN THE "HISTORIES".

Mommsen, as we all know, was once provoked into the declaration that Tacitus is the most unmilitary of historians. This is one of those exaggerated epigrams, which are more striking than just, and which, based on a great name like Mommsen's, will perhaps label and stigmatise the Roman historian "once and for all times". That this trenchant criticism of his shortcomings, as a military historian, is without considerable justification, no one will deny.

It hardly seems fair or judicial, however, to sum up in one sweeping condemnation such varied military histories, as those recording the campaigns of Germanicus, the earlier conquest of Britain, the later campaigns of Agricola, the Armenian wars and the "civil wars and rebellion" in the four emperors' year. The most conspicuous defects in the history of all the wars described in the annals and the Agricola, seem to be due mainly (1) to their comparative brevity, (2) to their want of continuity, here a few chapters and there a few chapters, (3) to the frequent failure to distinguish the campaigns of several years from one another, and (4) to the lack, of course most detrimental in the case of Armenia and Britain, of accurate geographical knowledge. Now I am far from denying the existence or importance of these defects, or from impugning the legitimacy of such reconstructions, as Mr Henderson has attempted for the British and Armenian wars under Nero. But Mr Henderson has made it one of the two chief objects of his new book, "Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire", to work out and develope Mommsen's unfavourable judgment in the "Histories". "The more often I read Tacitus, the more convinced I become that in

matters military his information represents little but the common gossip of the camp, the talk of the private soldier or subordinate officer". In accordance with this theory, which throughout the book remains the merest hypothesis, not supported by any adequate discussion, or by a particle of evidence, Mr Henderson, at any rate in the Othonian war, allows himself the fullest licence of reconstruction. And yet the military history here is at least not vitiated by the defects alluded to above. There is no excessive brevity, though no doubt we should sometimes be glad of more details; the account is for the most part continuous, the statements as to time and date are fairly clear, and with the exception of the identification of a river or two in Holland, there is very little room for geographical vagueness.

Tacitus is in fact condemned by Mr Henderson on quite other grounds. He is tried and found wanting in the light of modern strategical principles. The other main object of the book is "to write the history of these campaigns by the aid of, and as illustrative of, modern strategical principles". The two objects indeed involve one another. The wars are capable of being written in the light of these principles; Tacitus did not so write them; therefore Tacitus is blind, shallow, shortsighted, incapable of understanding a military situation. Such a method of rewriting military history needs much discrimination and very careful handling. There are of course resemblances, but there are also essential differences between ancient and modern warfare. Not only Tacitus, but Vespasian, Mucianus, Suetonius Paulinus, Antonius Primus are all severely lectured by Mr Henderson. The constant citations from Von der Goltz, Lieut. Col. Henderson and Col. Hamley are very interesting and often very apt, but they are not always convincing and not always applicable to ancient warfare.

"After a war one ought to write not only the history of what happened, but also the history of what was intended to happen". This is sound and possible for modern wars; it may be very difficult in the case of ancient history. Mr Henderson's application of this axiom in the campaign of Otho and the Vitellian generals affords several illustrations of the dangers to

which it is liable. It so happened that I was myself engaged upon the "Histories", at the time when Mr Henderson's book appeared, and as my impression on re-reading Tacitus was very different from his, and as his criticism seemed to me to be often undeserved and always unmeasured, I determined to examine seriatim the principal counts in his indictment. They are most of them to be found in his first chapter. The last two chapters, where he is content to follow, interpret and supplement, rather than re-construct, and where modern strategy is kept more to its proper place, are by far the best in the book, and are, as it seems to me, to a large extent, a vindication of Tacitus against the charges of incompetence made in the first.

The first instance I will take is the contemplated "strategy of penetration" attributed to Caecina. Tacitus (1. 80) says that Caecina, after sending an advance guard over the Pennine Alps to secure the four fortresses in north Italy, brought over by the ala Siliana, hesitated whether he should not himself cross the Raetian Alps and march against the Othonian procurator of Noricum, but finally decided that there was "plus gloriae retenta Italia" and that Noricum could easily be secured after a victory. On this, Mr Henderson makes severe comments on the "strategical blindness" of the Roman historian, who failed to see that the real object of Caecina was, not to attack Noricum, but to pass by way of Raetia over the Brenner Pass, and so to drop down into Italy immediately north of Verona. The object of this movement would have been to penetrate between and cut off from one another the two divisions of Otho's forces, the Danube army and the army of Italy. On page 56 Mr Henderson, in recasting the strategical opportunities of the Vitellians, makes the very misleading statement that the "Brenner Pass offered the easiest access to Italy". To an army already in Raetia, no doubt it did, but Caecina was not in Raetia, but at Aventicum. On page 67, Mr Henderson himself shows that by whatever route Caecina entered Raetia, the march into Italy by the Brenner Pass would be a long and toilsome one, involving considerable loss of time. Again, Caecina's object was, "to drive in a great wedge of his own men, penetrating the defenders lines midway at Placentia

and Aquileia" (page 56). Now Caecina either had or had not intelligence as to the movements and state of preparation of the Othonian forces. If he had not, this strategy of penetration would have been sheer madness, for he might have found the army of Italy at Mantua or Verona, which Mr Henderson himself (page 46) suggests that it would probably secure, and the Danube army wholly or partly concentrated at Aquileia. If he had, then he would know that the army of Italy had not yet left Rome, and that there was no considerable force at Aquileia. By far the easiest, safest and quickest route for him was to obey his instructions, cross by the Pennine Alps, and then, as should seem advisable, make for either Placentia or Verona. I do not venture to attribute "strategical blindness" to Mr Henderson, but Tacitus, at any rate in this instance, must be acquitted of it. Nor does Tacitus say that Caecina "hesitated whether to attack Noricum or Italy, and finally preferred Italy as being more important" (page 69). Mr Henderson would be very severe on such slip-shod translation in others. According to Tacitus, Caecina considered that more reputation was to be got by retaining possession of Italy, "Italia Retenta", i.e. by securing that part of north Italy, which his advance guard had already occupied. Italy was of course his objective; it was only a question whether it was worth while to incur the delay involved in securing Noricum. No doubt he decided wisely, but for all that, the possession of Noricum was considered of sufficient importance by Antonius Primus, to warrant him in sending eight cohorts and an ala to secure it, before his invasion of Italy. "Hist." iii. 5.

Of the strategical opportunities on the Othonian side, Mr Henderson gives an admirably clear account, but one important point he somewhat slurs over, viz. that Otho began to move a month and a half too late. That was the real reason why the Alpine passes were not occupied, why Cremona was lost, and why Placentia and the line of communication with the Danube were secured only just in time. At first Otho did nothing; "ut in multa pace munia imperii obibat" (i. 77). It is perfectly clear from ii. 11 that no step was taken till after Caecina had crossed the Alps; "transgresso jam Alpes

Caecina". This was no doubt, as Mr Henderson says, early in March, but Otho might quite well have moved before the end of January. Mr Henderson implies that it was strategical reasons which prevented Otho from guarding the Alps, and he tells us, rather *ex cathedra*, "the proper method of defending a mountain ridge" (page 43). It was however not the method of ancient warfare, and the original plan of Otho, "prima consiliorum," was to prevent the passage of the Alps.

Another instance in which Mr Henderson criticises Tacitus, I think rather unfairly, is in connection with the expedition of the Othonian fleet. The expedition was a complete fiasco; Tacitus describes it as such. Its objective, on Mr Henderson's own showing, was Gallia Narbonensis; Tacitus is very clear on this point. But Mr Henderson maintains (page 77) that it is shortsighted to look at the actual results rather than the intentions of the Emperor. The intentions of the Emperor can only be inferred from his acts. What he did was to put on board the fleet some urban cohorts, and a certain number, clearly not very large, of Praetorians; to place in command of this paltry force three men of no distinction or experience or capacity, and to send the fleet up towards Gaul, either with no instructions or the vaguest, and practically to leave everything to the discretion of three incapable underlings. There were of course possibilities in such a flank movement, if adequately equipped and properly carried out, but whether or not it ought to be regarded as "part of the whole well-designed strategical plan", must depend on how far those conditions were fulfilled. It might have been a strategical move, it was under the incapable Otho a mere diversion. Mr Henderson suggests that this force, for which a part of two Tungrian cohorts, a Ligurian cohort, and a little more than an ala of cavalry was a fair match, might, if it had "dared to push up the country in the direction of Briançon", have delayed the whole army of Valens, over sixty thousand men, for some days, if not weeks (page 78). After this, we are not surprised to find that this movement might have resulted in the destruction of Caecina's army at Cremona, "and only Valens' arrival saved his colleague". When Mr Henderson is writing under less excitement on

page 92, he points out that Caecina's army outnumbered Otho's "in a proportion of 3 to 2", and was also strongly entrenched. Is it on the strength of ill-grounded suppositions such as these that Tacitus is to be denounced as blind, shortsighted and incapable of understanding a military situation?

I will not spend much time on the next point on which Tacitus is criticised. It is in connection with Spurinna at Placentia. Tacitus says that Spurinna was anxious to keep his small force of three Praetorian cohorts and 1,000 veterans within the walls, but that they, distrusting their general, insisted on marching out into the plain, and were only induced to return on experiencing the labour of having to fortify a camp (ii. 18 and 19). Mr Henderson regards this as a silly story, the result of camp gossip, which always pulls generals to pieces (page 82). He thinks it was the natural course for Spurinna to make "a reconnaissance in force", and that Spurinna did this. Apparently Mr Henderson thinks any stick good enough to beat Tacitus with. If Tacitus had suggested that Spurinna was justified in leading his whole force of 4,000 men a day's march into the plain, and even encamping there with Caecina's army of 30,000 men somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood, I fancy we should have heard a good deal about unmilitary historians, and perhaps very possibly an extract from Von der Goltz on the duty of sending out scouts, which is clearly all that the case called for. As for camp gossip, it is enough to say here, that soldiers do not generally circulate stories which are solely to their own discredit. Another point which Mr Henderson overlooks and Tacitus emphasises both here and elsewhere, is this. The Praetorians, so far from being "the flower of the Roman army" (page 54) to whom the legions as "troops of the line" were inferior (page 55), were the weak point in Otho's army. They were loyal indeed to him, for it was to their interest to be so, though the stories of their romantic devotion after his death savour not a little of the camp gossip which Mr Henderson is generally so keen to detect. But they were "belli ignari" (ii. 18), spoilt by indulgences, badly disciplined, recklessly eager to fight, and above all utterly distrustful of senatorial generals. It is the merit of

Tacitus that he brings out this essential point, and nowhere more clearly than in the episode at Placentia.

I will not linger over the battle at Locus Castorum, Tacitus' account of which is, Mr Henderson says, "an historical nightmare". It is certainly not as clear as his own admirable reconstruction of it, but why does he say (p. 89) "The Guards faced them in the front", when Tacitus writes, "legionum adversa frons"? Mr Henderson commends Caecina for wishing to crush the Othonians, before the arrival of the Danube army, and because Tacitus fails to appreciate this point, declares that Tacitus has "a genius for misunderstanding the essentials of a military situation" (p. 91). And yet it is perfectly clear from Mr Henderson's own account that Caecina had no idea of crushing the Othonians. He aimed at a mere petty success, and the greater part of his army would never have been engaged at all, but for the straits in which his ambuscade found itself. The Roman historian was at least recording facts and not working out a military problem.

So far, Mr Henderson's strictures on Tacitus, though, as I hope I have shown, either wholly unfair or at least exaggerated, have not vitiated his account of what actually took place. The case is different, when we come to the "Strategy of the final struggle" (p. 92). I may say at once that Mr Henderson's reconstruction of the "first battle of Bedriacum" is a masterpiece of clever, ingenious, lucid, and sometimes brilliant narration, but for all that, it is pure fiction and not history. The statements of Tacitus are treated with the most reckless disregard. Otho, in the face of all the evidence we have about him, is represented as a brilliant strategist, and every movement, real or imagined, arbitrarily forced into its place in a fancy picture, "illustrative of modern strategical principles" (Preface, p. 7), wholly inapplicable to the particular case, if not to ancient warfare generally. I wish the vindication of Tacitus had fallen into more competent hands, but I feel that I must raise a protest against this new and dangerous method of re-writing the military history of the past.

The first point is the bridge building of Caecina. I will summarise Mr Henderson's account first. The Vitellian

generals, after the arrival of Valens (with between 50,000 and 60,000 men), having experienced the stout resistance of the enemy, and not knowing how soon the Danube army might arrive, decided that "they must wait for their Emperor, unless themselves attacked" (p. 93). In the meantime, as Placentia was keeping "grim watch" in their rear, and "still menaced both their own position and Vitellius when he came", they commenced a plan of "tactical penetration", i.e. of constructing a bridge across the Po at Cremona, with a view of separating Otho's main army from Placentia, and apparently attacking the latter. It was to meet this plan of penetration on the south of the river that Otho conceived his "brilliant strategical scheme" of envelopment (p. 100). What Tacitus tells us is this. "Conjunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora quin totis viribus certarent" (ii. 31). They therefore did not decide to wait for their Emperor, and why should they? Mr Henderson himself approves of the strategy of Caecina in forcing a battle before the Danube army came up (p. 91). It was the policy of the Vitellians, now that their army was three times as strong, to do the same. But, still to follow Tacitus, the Vitellians found that there was no need for them to risk a frontal attack, for news reached them of Otho's council of war, and his rash decision to attack at once (ii. 34). Therefore they decided to wait, not for their Emperor, but "quando hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est alienam stultitiam opperiebantur". Then it was, partly as a feint, "simulantes", partly as a means of coping with Macer's troublesome gladiators on the south bank, partly to occupy their men, that the Vitellians began the bridge. The bridge building was therefore a reply to Otho's plan for advance, not vice versa. What right has Mr Henderson to invert the order? Tacitus is of course far too blind and shortsighted to detect the "tactical penetration". But even Mommsen is here "captive to Tacitus", and is solemnly reproved for drawing "a shallow conclusion from results" (p. 347). As nothing worse can be said of me, I will make bold to say that the policy of penetration exists only in Mr Henderson's imagination. There was no object to be gained by it. Whatever may have been the case

at the beginning of the war, Placentia had ceased to be of primary importance to Otho. Mr Henderson is very severe with Gerstenecker for suggesting that Placentia was completely paralysed by the Vitellian occupation of Cremona (p. 238), but nevertheless, when once the two armies were facing one another at Cremona and Bedriacum, the phrase is not unjustifiable. We hear indeed of Placentia keeping grim watch and being a menace to the march of Vitellius. He forgets two things. It had been no menace or obstacle whatever to the march of Valens from Ticinum to Cremona, though Spurinna was there at the time with his full garrison, and now of so little importance was it in the eyes of Otho, that he had withdrawn Spurinna and almost all his forces from the place. There was nothing for Caecina to do south of the Po, except to dislodge Macer's gladiators, and perhaps compel Otho to leave Brixellum and take his proper place at the head of his army.

I now come to the great crux of the campaign, the battle of Bedriacum. Here Mr Henderson is at his best and at his worst. He shows extraordinary skill and ingenuity in making the different parts of his reconstruction fit in with one another. Personally, I should be far more proud of his performance than of a much more complete refutation than I can hope to put forward. Still, I am convinced that Mr Henderson's modern strategical principles are not applicable to the case, and also that his treatment of Tacitus is not legitimate historical criticism.

I will first give quite briefly the statements of Tacitus out of which Mr Henderson develops his view of what took place or was intended to take place. At Otho's council of war, contrary to the advice of Suetonius Paulinus and his senatorial colleagues, who urged delay, at least until the Danube forces from Aquileia should arrive, it was decided by Otho, Titianus and Proculus to fight; "pugnari placitum" (ii. 23). Then, as a first step, "promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit". This was done so unskilfully that the army found itself without water (ii. 39). Here there was some hesitation, but a peremptory order came from Otho, who had withdrawn to Brixellum, for immediate advance. Accordingly, next day, "non ad pugnam

sed ad bellandum profecti, confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum, sedecim inde milium spatio distantes, petebant" (ii. 40). It must be remembered that Bedriacum was twenty-two miles east of Cremona, and the mouth of the Adua seven miles to the west of it.

Mr Henderson deducts from these data, to the undoubted difficulties of which I shall return later, the following view, perhaps originally suggested by Mommsen's well-known monograph on the subject, but going so far beyond it, as to be for good or evil his own creation.

Otho had conceived the brilliant strategical idea of "an envelopment" of the Vitellian army at Cremona which was in fact to be the Metz of the campaign (p. 101 foll.).

The army at Bedriacum was to advance along the Via Postumia, but, while still at a safe distance from Cremona, was to wheel to the right, and by a flanking movement pass round the Vitellian position and fortify a camp on the further side of the Adua, at its confluence with the Po. The object of this was to cut the Vitellian line of communication with Gaul, to block the way of possible reinforcements, and to threaten the army "cooped up" in Cremona with want of supplies. But this was only half the plan. By a simultaneous movement the Danube army was to take the place of the army of Italy at Bedriacum, and then advance against Cremona (p. 105). In this way the Vitellian army would be trapped, enveloped and forced to capitulate. Otho himself, not from timidity or want of judgment, as Tacitus represents, but as befitted the Commander-in-Chief with combined operations to direct, withdrew to Brixellum on the south of the Po (p. 107). This "brilliant idea" was an illustration of the Napoleonic maxim that "envelopment, not mere weight of numbers, is the secret of decisive success". Now in the first place, there is absolutely nothing in Tacitus or Plutarch in support of all this except the mention by the former of "Padi et Aduae confluentes". Otho, from all that we know of him, was not a brilliant strategist or a strategist at all. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the general plan for defending the line of the Po, sound enough, as Mr Henderson shows, but fairly obvious, was due to Otho

himself. Every consideration makes it far more probable that it was the plan of Suetonius Paulinus, and Annius Gallus. The only thing which can with certainty be attributed to Otho, is the present decision to advance, and, if we follow our authority, to fight at once. Nor, if we are to pay any regard to these authorities, was he Commander-in-Chief. Tacitus says distinctly: "Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit" (ii. 23). Mr Henderson's view as to Otho's motive for retiring to Brixellum is of minor importance, and indeed stands or falls with the more important question of strategy. On Mr Henderson's own showing, Otho's central position did not prevent hopeless misunderstanding (p. 117).

I think in the next place that it might be fairly argued that the strategy of "envelopment" was neither known to nor applicable to ancient warfare. But this is a technical point, on which I am not prepared to meet Mr Henderson with his knowledge of military history. I can however think of no clear instance myself where it was employed, for of course Caesar's operations at Dyrrhachium were a case of "circumvallation" and not technically of "envelopment".

But apart from these preliminary objections, Mr Henderson's conception seems to me, not only to rest on no solid foundations, but under the circumstances of the case to be wholly inadmissible. He himself admits; (1) that the possibility of the flank march to the Adua depended on the immobility of the Vitellians. "All depended on the immobility of the enemy, and the discretion of Otho's generals" (p. 111). (2) That the envelopment depended on the simultaneous advance of a considerable Danube force to Bedriacum. "Certainly the whole idea of strategic envelopment depended on this simultaneous movement" (p. 106).

These are two important points, and I will take them separately: (1) What was the strength of the force which Otho had available for the flank march? I will take Mr Henderson's own estimate. The army of Italy at the commencement of the war was about 25,000 men. To these, we must add the whole of Legion XIII, for Mr Henderson's inference from the presence of its Legate at Bedriacum is a fair one, 2,000 men from Legion XIV and 2,000 auxilia from the Danube

army. I again accept Mr Henderson's inference on page 95. This brings the number up to 33,000. But we must subtract three or four thousand sent with the fleet, and at least as many left with Otho at Brixellum, and about the same number, left to garrison Bedriacum. Tacitus calls it "magnam exercitus partem" (ii. 44). Therefore only from 21,000 to 23,000 men could have been available. I believe myself that there may have been 4,000 more in the shape of the Vexilla from Legions VII and XI, but Mr Henderson holds that they had not yet come up. Now the army in Cremona, round the immediate flank of which this force was to pass, must have numbered 70,000 or 80,000 men at least. I need not go into details, as Mr Henderson will not deny this. Now what right had Otho to count upon the immobility of this large force? Why should it allow an army less than a third of its own size to march round it unmolested, within a mile of its entrenchments? For Mr Henderson has clearly no idea of a wide flanking movement, and even suggests that it would involve only one mile's extra marching from the camp on the Via Postumia to the confluence (p. 345). Mr Henderson says: "On hearing of a forward movement on part of the force at Bedriacum, surely they would be tempted to cling all the more closely to their fortified lines, and thus give the Othonians exactly the opportunity which they desired for passing unmolested round the town" (p. 104). Again, he speaks of "the false security of which Otho would so brilliantly avail himself" (p. 105). This is not only utterly unreasonable in itself, but in direct contradiction to the express statements of Tacitus, which I have quoted above. The Vitellians were eager to fight, and they were keenly watching every movement of the enemy, ready to take instant advantage of the first false move. And, says Mr Henderson himself, a little off his guard for the moment, "very little happened in the camp at Bedriacum, without the foe being at once informed of it" (p. 112). So far therefore from being a brilliant strategic idea, it is hardly too much to say that it would have pointed even more clearly to Otho being "a strategical idiot" (p. 347), than the mad frontal attack which he intended and carried out.

(2) With regard to the simultaneous movement of the Danube army, Mr Henderson is hardly on more solid ground, though he has more reason to complain of the ambiguity of Tacitus. What evidence is there for supposing that there was any considerable force on its way from Aquileia to Bedriacum? It would have to be a considerable force, if anything deserving to be called envelopment was to be effected, and Mr Henderson is quite clear that it must be a "simultaneous" movement. It needed, as he says, "the most careful timing to be successful" (p. 106). "The crisis of the situation must come in a very few days after the arrival at the confluence" (p. 112). If it arrived before the Danube army came up, the Othonian force, even if it reached its objective, would have cut itself off from its reinforcements to no purpose, and would either be annihilated or would have to throw itself into Placentia. What forces then could be on their way from Aquileia?

Of the four Pannonian and Dalmatian Legions, one, XIII, and nearly half of another, XIV, were already with Otho. So too, were some at least of the Auxilia. There remained therefore the rest of XIV, Legions VII Galb. and XI, together with a force of Auxilia, which I think Mr Henderson will admit could not have exceeded 10,000 men, for Legion XIV had no Auxilia at this time. As far as this army was concerned therefore, there could not have been more than about 23,000 men advancing. Does Mr Henderson consider this an adequate enveloping force? I cannot however allow him quite so large a force even as this. The Vexilla of VII and XI, 4,000 men, must have already joined Otho. Mr Henderson thinks not, because they are not mentioned in the battle at Locus Castorum, and because Tacitus uses the phrase "nullum retro subsidium" (p. 337). This is not conclusive. The Othonians were ten or twelve miles from their camp, and the words only mean that there was no reserve force coming up from the camp to support them. On the other hand, Tacitus says (ii. 11), that these Vexilla were sent forward at the beginning of the war, "principia belli", i.e. more than a month before the battle of Bedriacum. Besides VII and XI are both included among the "Victae Legiones" in ii. 67, and this would be unmeaning, if

no part of these legions had been engaged. But of course, if the three Moesian Legions with their auxilia were ready to take part in the simultaneous movement, the force would be a really large one. It is unfortunate, considering how vital this point was to the whole supposed scheme, that Mr Henderson has not dealt more fully with it. He has indeed a note on the Moesian Legions in connection with the Flavian advance (p. 161), but in connection with Otho's plan, he contents himself with saying vaguely, "a large part of the Danube army was already at Aquileia" (p. 101). I must therefore, at the risk of being tedious, supply his omission. In ii. 32 Suetonius Paulinus expects the arrival in a few days of Legion XIV, "cum Moesicis copiis". The phrase is a vague one, and quite consistent with the view that only some detachments of the Moesian Legions had reached Aquileia. The evidence of Suetonius on this point is valuable and important, since his father was Tribune of Legion XIII at the time. He says: Vesp. 6: "Moesici exercitus bina e tribus legionibus milia missa auxilio Othonis, postquam ingressis iter nuntiatum est, victum eum ac vim vitae suae attulisse, nihilo setius Aquileiam usque perseveraverunt, quasi rumori minus crederent". They therefore only reached Aquileia after Otho's death.

In ii. 46, some part of this advance guard, "praemissi e Moesia", is with Otho just after the battle, and to encourage him, report that the Legions have entered Aquileia. This is clearly mere camp gossip, but Mr Henderson accepts it (p. 161), and so apparently does Tacitus, for in ii. 85, he speaks of the Moesian Legions being there and tearing the standards of Vitellius, after news of the battle arrived. The significance of the last point seems to have escaped Mr Henderson. It proves that these troops, whatever they were, had not left Aquileia two or three days after the battle, and therefore they would have been too late to take part in the "simultaneous movement" for which accurate timing was essential.

But the Moesian Legions could not have been at Aquileia, though some detachments may have been. Where Tacitus is inconsistent with himself, we have a right to question his statements. In July or August, the Moesian Legions were

certainly in Moesia. Mr Henderson unwillingly recognises this on p. 161, though he allows himself to say; "It is possible that they were at Aquileia all the time".

(1) Will Mr Henderson maintain that Legion III was at Aquileia, at the time when Aponius Saturninus, Legate of Moesia, sent word to Vitellius of its defection? (ii. 96).

(2) If he does, will he also maintain that Legion VII was at Aquileia, at the time when its Legate escaped the attempt of Aponius to murder him and fled "per avia Moesiae"?

(3) If these two points are not enough, will he maintain that Aponius and his three Legions were at Aquileia, when the council of war at Poetovio with a view of invading Italy, urges him, "ut cum Moesico exercitu celeraret"? Of course, they might have been sent back to their province, and because Tacitus does not mention this, Mr Henderson finds another instance of the "looseness of his military narrative". But Tacitus is extremely precise in telling us of the Othonian Legions which were sent back (ii. 66 and 67), and the only fair inference to be drawn from his silence is that the Moesian Legions had not left Moesia, and had at most sent on an advance guard.

But whatever the strength of the Danube army, there is no evidence at all that it was marching for Bedriacum. The fact that Otho thought it necessary to leave "magnam partem exercitus" at Bedriacum, is strongly against this. It is also quite clear that no reinforcements were near when the Othonian army capitulated at Bedriacum. Mr Henderson's "simultaneous movement" therefore on examination breaks down completely. If Otho had had such an idea, his utter slackness in timing the combination would have deprived it of all brilliance and of every chance of success. In developing his conception of Otho's strategical plan, Mr Henderson ignores everything in Tacitus except the words, "Padi et Aduae confluentes petebant". His account of the way in which it was carried out involves far more illegitimate tampering with the historian's statements. The essential points in Tacitus are these. In order to carry out the decision of the council of war, the army moved out of Bedriacum, and encamped for the night four miles along

the road. The next day they started for some point—the text calls to the confluence of the Po and the Adua—sixteen miles distant. There was clearly some idea of another encampment, before the actual attack, for they marched, "non ad pugnam sed ad bellandum". Before they started, Paulinus again objected to the plan, urging the practical certainty that the soldiers, weary with so long a tramp, would be attacked by the enemy, who would naturally hear of the advance from their scouts. The Vitellians, he pointed out, could either after a short march of four miles fall upon them while actually on the march, or later on, while making their camp, "vallum molientes" (ii. 40). However, these objections were overruled. The army, in obedience to urgent orders from Otho, advanced, and, as Paulinus predicted, encountered the enemy, while still on the Postumian road, and clearly only a few miles from Cremona.

Now it is clear at once, that in this account either the objective or the sixteen miles must be wrong. The mouth of the Adua was seven miles west of Cremona, and therefore twenty-five miles, as the crow flies, from the Othonian camp. Plutarch, Oth. 11, gives a somewhat different account, which Mr Henderson admits to be "simple and straightforward". According to him the first camp was not four miles, but fifty stades, a little over six miles, from Bedriacum. The next day, they marched 100 stades, a little over twelve miles, no objective being stated, and then fell in with the enemy.

But, simple and straightforward as this account is, Mr Henderson says that he has "no right and small inclination" to accept it. I can understand the "small inclination", for it involves abandonment of the theory of strategical envelopment, but I do not see why we have "no right", when two authorities differ, to prefer on reasonable grounds one to the other. I suggested long ago that the difficulty is probably to be met by following Plutarch, and I suggest it still, though I give up my "small stream to the north of the Po", of which Mr Henderson quite good-naturedly makes fun (p. 343).

Both authorities agree that the battle took place a little short of four miles from Cremona. In Plutarch, subtract eighteen and a bit from twenty-two, and there remain nearly

four. In Tacitus, Paulinus says that the enemy would have to advance "vix quatuor milia passuum". Both agree, Plutarch asserting it more picturesquely but hardly more strongly than Tacitus, that Otho was madly eager for immediate battle; "pronus ad decertandum" (ii. 33), "aeger mora et spei impatiens" (ii. 40). Plutarch puts it much more vividly. Both agree that the affair actually ended in a reckless frontal attack. Plutarch's omission to mention the idea of a second encampment is simply due to the fact that, as things turned out, nothing came of the intention. For the same reason, he does not mention the objective, whatever it was, because it was never reached, and also, as I suggest, because it was not the important strategical objective, which Mr Henderson assumes, but a mere point on the way to a frontal attack.

Where was that point? I believe myself that it was a spot opposite to the confluence of the Hadra or Adra (the modern Arda), and the Po. It is a change of one letter only, and a scribe might easily substitute what was perhaps a more familiar river. The Adra enters the Po from the south, about seven miles below Cremona. The phrase "confluentes petebant" is perhaps not strictly correct, when the confluence was on the south bank, and the Othonians aimed at a spot on the north bank opposite to it, but it is quite intelligible, and presents no serious difficulty. The reason for choosing or suggesting the spot may have been a three-fold one: (1) To meet the objections of Paulinus against fighting after a long day's march, though, as he pointed out, it did not really meet them; (2) to make sure this time of being within reach of water; (3) to secure the assistance in the next day's attack of the gladiators, posted on the south bank opposite Cremona. Now it seems to me, that if we accept Plutarch's estimate of distance in the one point in which he differs from Tacitus, the whole affair becomes fairly clear. Nor is it arbitrary or unjustifiable to prefer the distances of Plutarch. He had himself gone over the whole battle ground with Mestrius Florus, who had been with Otho's army on the occasion. He had no doubt had the various halting places pointed out to him, and his distances may well be due to his own personal investigation. Plut. Oth. 14. The Othonians

therefore pitched their camp on the first day six miles along the road from Bedriacum. From this point, it was sixteen miles to Cremona and fourteen, as the crow flies, to the mouth of the Adra. Since however an army marching there would keep along the Via Postumia most of the way, and then deflect to the left, there is no difficulty about the sixteen miles of Tacitus. Next day, they started again, the soldiers eager for battle, Titianus and Proculus "imperitia properantes", but with an intention, distinct enough to induce them to march with their baggage wagons, of deflecting from the main road, and encamping near the confluence of the Po and the Adra. They were not however much impressed by the warning of Paulinus, that they would certainly be attacked on the road. If the battle took place on that day, it would be entirely in accordance with Otho's orders, and quite to the taste of the soldiers; they were "imperitia properantes". Paulinus saw that if the enemy attacked them on the march, "incompositos in agmine", it would probably be near the point where they would deflect from the main road, and this he reckoned to be about four miles from the enemy's camp. Of course if the enemy waited to attack them till they were constructing their camp at the confluence, the distance to be traversed would be two or three miles longer—"incompositos in agmine" and "vallum molientes" clearly represent different points—but Paulinus considered the former point most probable. The affair turned out as he had predicted, unless indeed the Othonian generals in the end gave up their objective, and pushed on for an immediate frontal attack. On this view we can retain all the figures of Tacitus and Plutarch, except the "ad quartum a Bedriaco" of Tacitus. That is corrected, not by the arbitrary method, with which, as we shall see, Mr Henderson deals with it, but by the probably better evidence of Plutarch. For the second day, the twelve miles of Plutarch are the distance actually marched, when the armies met; the sixteen of Tacitus are the estimated distance to the confluence, first along the road, then deflecting to the left. I do not say that there are no difficulties in this explanation. Too many points are uncertain to make possible a precise calculation of distances, the distance of the Vitellian camp

from Cremona, the exact line of the Via Postumia, and the exact position of the confluence eighteen hundred years ago. But whether my own explanation of the objective, as stated by Tacitus, is accepted or not, Mr Henderson's theory as to Otho's plan of strategical envelopment is equally inadmissible.

I have now to deal with the way in which he works out the details. It is clear that the three distances given by Tacitus, the four miles to the first encampment, the sixteen miles from there to the Adua, and the four miles to be traversed by the Vitellians, cannot all stand. Mr Henderson's method of solution is arbitrarily to alter the first numeral, "ad quartum" to "ad quartum decimum" (p. 344). This is indeed an heroic measure, but wholly illegitimate. There is no suggestion that the text is corrupt, and the supposition is made practically impossible by Plutarch's twelve stades, which on independent evidence point to the first day's march being short. By such uncritical methods anything can be proved or disproved. The difficulty about the water, which among others this alteration is to get over, is purely imaginary, since neither Tacitus nor Plutarch states (as Mr Henderson thinks) that the men were overcome with thirst after a march of four or six miles, but that there was no water to supply the camp, and this might be as great an inconvenience four miles away as fourteen.

Mr Henderson has therefore encamped the Othonian army eight miles from Cremona. He is apparently not prepared to throw overboard the other two distances of Tacitus. They are now fifteen miles from the Adua, as the crow flies, and if we allow one mile for the flanking movement, we get the sixteen of Tacitus (p. 345). This at least has the merit of recognising what Mr Henderson does not always recognise, that the sixteen miles is obviously the distance to be traversed and not the distance as the crow flies, i.e. supposing that the two did not coincide. But I have already shown that the idea of so close a flank march is under the circumstances inconceivable.

There remain the four miles which, Paulinus points out, were all that the Vitellians need traverse, in order to attack them while "incompositos in agmine". Mr Henderson has two explanations, both equally illegitimate, because they utterly

ignore the whole point of Paulinus' objection as stated by Tacitus. Every reader of ii. 40 must see *εἰ μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάσσων* that Paulinus is not apprehensive of an attack on their present camp—Mr Henderson, it is true, has brought them "too far along the road, too near the enemy for safety", but that is his own affair, not that of Paulinus—but at the end of the next stage, when the Othonians, weary with a long march—clearly the sixteen miles—would be exposed to attack from an enemy hardly four miles off. In face of this, Mr Henderson writes (p. 116); "The foe, urged the malcontents, were all but in sight. In case of attack, these had but four miles to tramp (a characteristic underestimate)." The four miles therefore are really eight (according to Tacitus, they are eighteen, according to Plutarch sixteen), and the four are a characteristic underestimate of Paulinus. That is one explanation, throwing a somewhat lurid light upon Mr Henderson's methods, but on p. 345 he has another. "Next day, Suetonius urges that the enemy would have 'barely four miles to march'. It looks as if he thought both sides would set out to march at the same time, and so would meet in the middle of the eight miles which then separated the Othonians from the City". But this ignores the main point of Paulinus, that the Vitellians would be fresh after four miles, the Othonians weary after a long march. It also wholly ignores the flank movement, but that again is Mr Henderson's own affair. In fact we hear no more of the "false security" of the "quiescent" "unsuspecting enemy". It turns out that, as Tacitus said all along, he was very wide awake. At any rate, the flank movement, it seems, was given up, either because the generals misread Otho's renewed order to advance, or because Otho himself, "hearing that the force had come so near to the enemy, judged that there was no room for the flank march left, and himself commanded a frontal attack". Surely this brilliant strategist was rather quick to despair, and made singularly little use of his central position of control.

It has been worth while to go into these points with some minuteness, because it is on the strength of this arbitrary, uncritical and inconsistent interpretation of Tacitus, that he is

held up as shallow, shortsighted, blind and utterly incapable of understanding a military situation.

Even if we had to accept the Adua objective, I think I have shown that Mr Henderson's idea of a close flank march, a simultaneous movement of the Danube army, and the consequent envelopment of Cremona, is wholly inadmissible. To that I should prefer Mommsen's idea of a wide flanking movement to get astride the Cremona Brixia road, and then a second march to the Adua, though I think Mr Henderson's objections to it are well grounded.

No; the whole affair was, as Tacitus and Plutarch represent it, a mad, reckless, strategically idiotic frontal attack. The chances offered by the sound defensive strategy of the Senatorial generals, were thrown to the winds. The fiasco was due partly to the turbulent character of the Praetorians, partly to their inveterate suspicion of their Senatorial commanders, partly to the ill-judged substitution for these of the unskilled Titianus and Proculus, but mainly, especially in the last stage, to the passionate impatience and too tightly strung nerves of Otho himself.

Tacitus, we are told, was blind to the deeper significance of the plans of both sides, and the explanation of his blindness is that he was led astray by the camp gossip of the common soldier. Otho, to prevent his plan from becoming known to the enemy, had to deceive his soldiers as to his real intention, "by misleading the enemy, the Emperor misled also the common soldier in his own camp, and in his train he misled the most unmilitary of historians" (p. 122).

Mr Henderson must be aware that this suggestion can only be adequately considered by a discussion of the authorities available for Tacitus in his history of this war, the elder Pliny, Cluvius Rufus and Vipstanus Messalla, who himself took part, certainly in the second, and quite possibly in the first campaign. It would also be necessary to deal with the relations of Tacitus to Plutarch, who must also have been misled by the common soldier. However, as Mr Henderson merely throws out the suggestion on grounds of general probability, and with no argument or proof, I shall content myself with suggesting one

or two obvious difficulties in the way of this theory. In the first place, it is clear from all accounts that the Othonian soldiers were madly eager to fight, and suspicious of all attempts to keep them from the enemy. Is it conceivable that under these circumstances, Otho, ex hypothesi a general of capacity, would have allowed them to believe that they were advancing for a frontal attack? Was it likely that they would allow themselves to be baulked of this, and that they would quietly obey orders to turn away to the right, on some uncertain flank march? In the next place, even if the common soldier believed that a frontal attack was intended, why should his camp gossip prevail, not only for the moment, but permanently over the better knowledge of Otho's own staff and the superior officers? Camp gossip, even more than "the wisdom of the journalist", is essentially ephemeral. If it sometimes finds its way into contemporary military memoirs, it is yet to be shown that it has ever permanently vitiated military history. The "brilliant conception" must have been known to Paulinus, Gallus and Celsus; it was presumably understood by Titianus, Proculus and Plotius Firmus; it can hardly have been unknown to Verginius Rufus, Spurinna, Mestrius Florus and many others in the suite of Otho. Why should Tacitus have gone to the common soldier, when he could consult his own personal friends, Verginius Rufus and Spurinna? Mr Henderson has hardly thought this matter out in all its bearings. He supposes that Tacitus did find "in his records or enquiries some faint trace of an idea of reaching the confluence" (p. 122). In that case, can we believe that he would have pushed his enquiries no further? Did he imagine the Adua to be east of Cremona? and if not, would he have made nonsense of his so far plain account by inserting this faint tradition, without a word of question or explanation? The reader will hardly be so "captive" either to Mr Henderson's special pleading, or even to Mommsen's great authority, as to accept this view.

One other point in connection with this campaign. For once, Mr Henderson agrees with a military judgment of Tacitus. To me it seems his one conspicuous misjudgment, viz. that even after the defeat, Otho might have renewed the war with some

chance of success. Tacitus says: "Ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum, atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus" (ii. 46).

Mr Henderson goes further: "Had Otho willed to live, he might yet have been the victor" (p. 124). I need not enter again into the numbers and position of the Danube army, except to recall the indisputable point, that the Moesian forces had not left Aquileia. For three things are beyond doubt. (1) Otho's own forces at Brixellum were ridiculously inadequate to continue the war with; (2) his whole army north of the Po had capitulated at Bedriacum; and (3) Otho was now hopelessly cut off from the Danube army by the large and victorious Vitellian army, now occupying Bedriacum. Otho faced death bravely, as many other voluptuaries have done before and since, but death was his only course.

It was the unaccountable slowness of the Danube army which deranged the sound defensive strategy of the Senatorial generals. If we indulge at all in speculation as to what might have happened, we may perhaps ask whether the result might not have been different, and the Danube army might not have arrived in time, if Otho had accepted the offer made to him by Antonius Primus, who is said to have placed his services as general at Otho's disposal. The weakness of the Danube army was that it had no one leader. How brilliant and inspiring a leader Antonius proved himself in the next campaign, Mr Henderson's admirable account of it makes abundantly clear.

When we come to Mr Henderson's second and third chapters, containing accounts of the Flavian invasion of Italy, and of the Batavian war, his book becomes a real and most invaluable "companion to the Histories of Tacitus". It is true that Tacitus is almost uniformly spoken of with contempt; he is "but a pleader at the Roman bar who had taken to history"; —what was Grote but a banker who had taken to history?— he is "the inflated pedant of a decadent bar"; and several specimens are added "to the rubbish heap of Tacitus' military judgments". Personally, I think that this literary animosity is a little ill-judged, if not indecorous, but still, in spite of this,

Tacitus is for the most part judiciously followed; his ambiguities brilliantly explained, his gaps convincingly filled up, his occasionally fragmentary narrative skilfully pieced together. No such admirably clear and vivid account of these two campaigns has to my knowledge ever been written. I would only humbly venture to suggest that Mr Henderson's two brilliant chapters are a complete and final vindication of Tacitus against Mommsen's exaggerated epigram. Mr Henderson, like Balaam, came out to curse, but he has stayed to bless.

There are however one or two points in which Tacitus is unduly criticised, or inadmissible inferences are drawn from his statements. In one or two cases too, the plans of one side or the other are labelled with paragraph headings more striking than correct.

Thus, I question whether the decision arrived at by the council of war at Poetovio can be appropriately called "the strategy of annihilation". The Danube army, as Mr Henderson himself shows, advanced on Italy in driblets, and even after its concentration at Verona, it was only the sudden news that Caecina's army was marching for Cremona which led to the vigorous advance, ending, owing to unforeseen circumstances, in the annihilation of the Vitellian army.

I question still more whether "the strategy of exhaustion" is a fair or complete statement of Vespasian's plan of campaign. Mr Henderson says "that this strategy, involving the expectation of ending the war without fighting, deserved hearty condemnation" (p. 150). But what ground is there for saying: "apparently he intended his army at Aquileia to do nothing, even after Mucianus and his force had joined the Danube Legions there"? There seems no ground whatever for this in Tacitus, either in iii. 8 or iii. 48. The "sisti bellum" in the former passage is qualified by the following word "expectarique Mucianum", while the "incruentam et sine luctu victoriam" is clearly only the pretext of Mucianus, who wished to reserve "omne belli decus" for himself. Again, when Mr Henderson minimises the importance to Italy of the corn supply of Egypt, on p. 151, he somewhat ignores two well-known passages in the Annals (ii. 59) "seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgueret Italiam,

etc.", and (iii. 54) "quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita P. R. per incerta maris...cotidie volvitur; ac nisi provinciarum copiae—subvenerint, etc.".

It is clear from iii. 8, that Vespasian ordered the Danube army to await Mucianus at Aquileia, hoping that in the meantime, Vitellius would submit, owing to want of supplies, but if not, that Italy was then to be invaded. After the battle of Cremona, when the whole of North Italy was blocked, Vespasian again, in iii. 48, hoped, and not without reason, that the blockade of Italy would render unnecessary a forcible entry into the city. That the orders of Vespasian to wait at Aquileia were prudent, Mr Henderson would seem to admit, when he says, p. 177, "The Flavian invasion of Italy in the autumn of 69 A.D. had no rational prospect of success."

On p. 172 Mr Henderson quite inconclusively criticises the statement of Tacitus, in iii. 9, that Caecina pitched his camp "inter Hostiliam et Paludes Tartari," with the river, i.e. the Po, behind him. Mr Henderson believes that the camp was on the north of the Tartarus, and bases his view on the description which Tacitus gives of the break-up of the camp, and the retreat to Hostilia in iii. 14; "relictis castris, abrupto ponte, Hostiliam rursus...pergunt." The bridge was of course over the Tartarus, and Mr Henderson argues from this passage that it must have been behind the camp. I do not see why. Surely the position of the camp would have been stronger with the Tartarus in front of it, especially as the enemy had seized Forum Alieni on the Adige. As for the bridge over the Tartarus, the retreating army would certainly have broken it down, whether it was in front of or behind them. It is a minor point, but typical of Mr Henderson's hyper-critical attitude towards Tacitus. Another minor point, but one out of which Mr Henderson gets a fresh instance of the unsatisfactory account of Tacitus, is the march of Valens to the North (iii. 40 to 42, p. 348). He shows convincingly and in his best form that Valens must have been between Ariminum and Ravenna, when he heard of the defection of the fleet. Tacitus says: "praemittit cohortes Ariminum,...ipse flexit in Umbriam, inde Etruriam". Mr Henderson can make nothing of these last

words. I think he is led astray by assuming that Valens "clearly did not accompany his troop to Ariminum". Surely the word "praemittit" implies that he did follow them there. So do the words "digresso Valente trepidos qui Ariminum tenebant". From Ariminum, instead of pursuing his original route, which would have led him out of Umbria in a few miles, he turned aside, "flexit", to the west or south-west, which in contrast with the other routes might fairly be described as "in Umbriam". Let us be just to Valens. With the small force he had, he did his best to secure Ariminum from the attack of the Ravenna fleet, which immediately followed.

At one point in his otherwise clear and graphic account of the second battle of Bedriacum or Cremona, Tacitus, it must be admitted, loses a great opportunity of adding another to the many romantic touches in his picture. Mr Henderson has well filled up the gap. Tacitus tells us very briefly in iii. 14, that the Vitellian army on the Tartarus, after putting Caecina in chains, broke up their camp, fell back on Hostilia, and then marched to join their comrades at Cremona. In iii. 21, he mentions the arrival of this army at Cremona, after a day's march of thirty miles on the evening of the day when Antonius and the garrison of Cremona had been fighting on the Via Postumia, between Bedriacum and Cremona. Mommsen was the first to point out the eccentric character of this march. It could not have been by the direct road, the Via Postumia, between Hostilia and Cremona, because in that case the Vitellian army must inevitably have been involved in the fighting which was going on all that day along the road. It must therefore have marched south of the Po, by a much longer route, by way of Mutina and Parma. As to the reason for this circuitous route, Mr Henderson and Mommsen are not in entire agreement, and I am rather doubtful whether the former, by importing into the matter strategical considerations, has not spoilt rather than improved upon Mommsen's explanation. He argues that the march of the Vitellians north of the Po, by way of Mantua and Bedriacum, was impossible, because "their right flank would be exposed to attack at any point along the road" by the Flavian army, which would not lose the oppor-

tunity of marching down from Verona to intercept them. Mr Henderson furnishes a complete answer to his own suggestion. The distance from Hostilia to Bedriacum was about thirty-seven miles; that from Verona to Bedriacum was thirty-five (p. 192). But, says Mr Henderson, with reason, "I allow a day for the news of the evacuation of the camp to be brought to Antonius" (p. 196). In other words, the Vitellian army had one day's start of the Flavian. This being so, it is quite clear that it could have safely passed Bedriacum, or occupied it, some appreciable time before the Flavians could possibly reach that, the critical point, along the road. If military considerations were to decide their route, everything was in favour of the direct road north of the Po. It is perhaps hardly profitable to speculate on what might have happened, if that course had been taken; but we can scarcely doubt that the decisive battle would have been fought under very different conditions. The two Vitellian armies could have met between Bedriacum and Cremona, and the battle might well have been fought on the road between Bedriacum and Verona, under conditions not unfavourable to the Vitellians. But, as Mommsen insists, this deplorable march of the gallant Vitellian army is not to be judged from a military standpoint. The army was betrayed; it was without a general; in both senses of the phrase it had lost its head; for the moment even it had lost its nerve. Its one thought was to reach its comrades at Cremona, and to reach them without encountering the enemy. There was no time for calculating distances and possible combinations. These would have unmistakably pointed to the nearer road; perhaps their temporary leaders recommended it, but the men were not under control. They had no right to assume that they would reach their comrades with forces combined and not yet weakened by separate conflict with the enemy, but it was possible, and they blindly risked it.

Mr Henderson's account of the battles, the capture of the camp and the sack of Cremona is admirable; and also of the operations which followed, up to the final occupation of Rome. I know of nothing better of its kind. The data are all, or nearly all, in Tacitus, but every student of the "Histories" will

be grateful to Mr Henderson for his brilliant and graphic narrative.

The same may be said of practically the whole of the third chapter, containing an account of what Mr Henderson very aptly calls, "The Indian Mutiny of the Roman army." There is one point however on which I cannot follow him in his unqualified and exaggerated censure of what I admit to be "a hard saying" of Tacitus. Mr Henderson describes as "the one military puzzle of this war," the action of Vocula after the relief of Vetera (p. 276). What Vocula did, we learn plainly enough from Tacitus. After his victory outside Vetera, instead of pursuing the flying enemy, he at once began to strengthen the fortifications of the camp, at the same time removing the non-combatants and successfully bringing in a convoy of provisions from Novaesium. An attempt to get a second convoy through failed, because the enemy had already begun to muster on the south of Vetera. Vocula then left Vetera, withdrawing one thousand of the five thousand defenders of the camp, and attaching them to his own army. In spite of the protestations of the remaining garrison he led back his army, first to Gelduba, and then to Novaesium (iv. 34 and 35). This course of action is a puzzle, because Tacitus does not tell us the strategical object which Mr Henderson assumes that Vocula must have had. Implicitly, I think, Tacitus criticises the whole proceeding of withdrawing his army and leaving the garrison behind. Explicitly, however, he limits his criticism to the one point, that he began to strengthen the camp, without first completing the rout of the enemy by some immediate pursuit. "Sed Vocula omissis fugientium tergis vallum turresque castrorum augebat, tanquam rursus obsidium immineret, corrupta totiens victoria non falso suspectus bellum malle".

The last words, if they really mean that Tacitus shared this suspicion, I do not defend, though I do not, like Mr Henderson, "find it hard to speak calmly of such a judgment". But the military judgment of Tacitus, with which I am alone concerned, is contained in the first part of the sentence. In it, Tacitus surely does not suggest, as Mr Henderson seems to interpret him, that Vocula ought to have started from Vetera on a forward

movement, with a view of crushing out the rebellion, for which he was no doubt not strong enough, but that if he had carried the pursuit further on the day of the battle, the enemy would not have recovered himself so soon, and the convoys might all have been safely brought in. This seems sound criticism and is wholly untouched by the citation from Von der Goltz, which by the way with characteristic candour Mr Henderson admits to be mainly applicable to the conditions of modern warfare (p. 280).

Now for the strategic object, which Tacitus does not tell us, but which may, I think, be gathered from what he does tell us. I agree with Mr Henderson in rejecting Mommsen's view that Vocula would have returned at once from Gelduba to Vetera, had not his troops refused to follow him; though it is somewhat amusing to find him objecting to any explanation on the ground that it is not contained in Tacitus. How many of his own explanations would bear this test? Far more inadmissible is the suggestion of Mr Henderson's undergraduate which is apparently accepted, that Vocula left Vetera and went up the river, to meet and collect the reinforcements from Italy (p. 283). In the first place, there was no reason whatever for expecting reinforcements for some time to come; Vocula would not be justified in leaving Vetera on a mere improbable chance. In the second place, if reinforcements were likely to arrive, it was all the more Vocula's duty to remain at his post and await them. When they came, they were sure to be commanded by an officer superior in rank to himself, and if he wished to hasten them, he could send messengers. If Tacitus had suggested such a step, Mr Henderson would not, I think, have been so lenient to it.

Far more probably, it was just because Vocula saw no chance of reinforcements, that he decided to take the course he did. His army was practically the only Roman force along the Rhine, and there were other places besides Vetera which needed help. More than probably, news had already reached him that Mogontiacum was in danger: to relieve it was certainly his first step after the mutiny at Novaesium was over. Of course he might have evacuated Vetera, but things were hardly so desperate yet as to call for such a sacrifice of

Roman prestige. The place was partly re-provisioned, and still had a garrison of four thousand men, who might well hold out till he could return after securing Mogontiacum. As things turned out, this was no doubt an error of judgment, and Vocula must be judged by results. But if it had not been for the treason of Classicus and Tutor, and the consequent desertion of his legions, he might quite possibly have accomplished his object. This explanation of the "puzzle" seems probable in itself, and is quite consistent with what Tacitus tells us.

There are various minor points on which I find myself not in entire agreement with Mr Henderson, but these I shall reserve for a special notice of the book in the *Classical Review.*

Here I have been concerned only with the systematic attack, which Mr Henderson, aided by modern military text books, has made upon the reputation of Tacitus, not only as a military historian, but as a writer of ordinary common sense. I am sorry that my paper has been so controversial in character, but as Mr Henderson's unfavourable judgment depends on the cumulative weight of his separate instances, I have been obliged to go into them one by one.

E. G. HARDY.

ADVERSARIA. VII.

Sophocl. Electra, 1074 sqq.

> *πρόδοτος δὲ μόνα σαλεύει*
> *Ἠλέκτρα τὸν ἀεὶ †πατρὸς*
> *δειλαία στενάχουσ' ὅπως*
> *ἁ πάνδυρτος ἀηδών.*

Read *πάρος* for *πατρός*. *στενάχουσα τὸν ἀεὶ πάρος στεναζόμενον*, and compare El. 132 sqq. *οὐδ' ἐθέλω προλιπεῖν τόδε, | μὴ οὐ τὸν ἐμὸν στοναχεῖν πατέρ' ἄθλιον*, and again 140 sqq. *ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν μετρίων ἐπ' ἀμήχανον | ἄλγος ἀεὶ στεναχοῦσα διόλλυσαι*. Indeed Electra 145 sqq. compares herself with the nightingale, the point of the comparison lying both there and in 1067 in the incessant repetition of the same wailing note (*ἀλλ' ἐμέ γ' ἁ στονόεσσ' ἄραρεν φρένας | ἃ Ἴτυν, αἰὲν Ἴτυν ὀλοφύρεται*), in the bird's case for Itys, in Electra's for her father.

Stat. S. III. 4. 5 sqq.

> Accipe laudatos, iuuenis Phoebeie, crinis
> Quos tibi Caesareus donat puer, accipe laetus
> Intonsoque ostende patri. sine dulce nitentis
> Comparet atque diu fratres putet esse Lyaei.

It is usual to change *fratres* into *fratris*. Perhaps *fratres* is right as the MSS agree to give. Aesculapius is asked to take the locks of Earinus and show them to his father Apollo (*intonso patri*) who may well find in them a counterpart to the locks of Bacchus. On this view *fratres Lyaei* = fratres Lyaei crinium, a construction easily intelligible: a well known parallel to the use of *fratres* would be Catullus' *Abiunctae paulo ante*

comae mea fata sorores Lugebant (LXVI. 51), the *crines* are *fratres*, as the *comae* are *sorores*.

Stat. S. IV. 2. 5—7.

> Ast ego cui sacrae Caesar noua gaudia cenae
> Nunc primum dominaque dedit †consurgere mensa
> Qua celebrem mea uota lyra?

For *consurgere* which the editors puzzle over and fail to explain, read with Markland on I. 1. 82 *non surgere*, for in 15—17 the poet expressly says

> te, spes hominum, te, cura deorum
> Cerno iacens? datur haec iuxta, datur ora tueri
> Vina inter mensasque et *non assurgere* fas est?

The privilege of being present at the imperial dinner party was heightened on this occasion, at least for Statius, by the permission to keep his seat, instead of rising to show honour to the *princeps* (Domitian)

Stat. S. I. 5. 42.

> uario fastigia uitro
> In species animoque nitent.

The new Russian editor of the Silvae, Gregory Sänger (Petersburg, 1909) proposes to read

> *Phario* fastigia uitro
> In species *animante* nitent

in which *animante* seems highly probable. I had noted the same conjectural variation of Markland's *animata* in my copy of Bährens' edition. Sänger promises a full commentary, in which he will no doubt illustrate his other change *Phario*.

II. 1. 104, 105.

> Tu tamen et uinctas etiam nunc murmure uoces
> Vagitumque rudem fletusque infantis amabas.

For *vinctas* or *iunctas* of the *Matritensis*, Barlow 23 = Auct. F. 5. 5 in the Bodleian has a strange variant which I think deserves recording, *īmittas*. This might be a corruption of *timidas*; the word would suit the age of the young slave.

II. 3. 16, 17.

flauos collegit amictus
Artius et niueae posuit se margine ripae.

The difficulty of *niueae* has been felt by Vollmer, who reasonably denies any real parallelism with I. 5. 51 *Extra autem niueo qui margine caerulus amnis Viuit*, and inclines to explain *niueae ripae* of the colour of the sand or gravel border of the water in Melior's grounds. Sänger inverts the two epithets and prints

niueos collegit amictus
Artius et flauae posuit se margine ripae.

Barlow 23 gives *uinee*, possibly a mere corruption of *niuee*, but possibly pointing to an entirely different reading, *uitreae*. Markland says *uitreus, niueus* are often confused; the emendation therefore would be an old one. The shore of the lake would not inaptly be described as *glassy* in reference to the colour of the water at its margin. Statius often uses the word, generally connecting it with water,

uitreasque natatu Plaudit aquas I. 2. 73.

Surgite de uitreis spumosae Doridos antris.
III. 2. 16.

uitreoque natant praetoria ponto.
II. 2. 49.

and in this very poem (*Arbor Melioris*) II. 3. 5:

Atque habitet uitreum tacitis radicibus amnem.

If sea caves could be called glassy from the colour of the sea-water, I can see no objection to the edge of a lake being similarly called *uitrea ripa*.

I must not leave Barlow 23 without mentioning another deviation from M, or (so far as I know) any other uninterpolated MS of the Silvae. It is in II. 5. 27 sqq.

quod Caesaris ora
Inter tot Scythicas Libycasque, a litore Rheni
Et Pharia de gente feras, quas perdere uile est,
Vnius amissi tetigit iactura leonis.

Markland acknowledged the difficulty of *iactura amissi leonis* and conjectured *ablati*, Bährens *occisi*. Neither is very probable: *amissi* in itself is unobjectionable. Barlow 23 has *natura* for *iactura*; the *princeps*, Domitian, who saw the brave beast die so ignobly, was touched by his fine qualities, and indicated his emotion to the spectators in the amphitheatre perhaps by tears.

If *natura* is a guess, it is a very good one. But the character of Barlow 23 is *against* any such theory of depravation. It cannot be reckoned among the interpolated MSS: and this is why I find cause to regret that its readings are not yet, as a whole, known to the philological world. For instance in I. 6. 9 where M gives *borea* changed to *linea*, Barl. 23 has *borea* alone; in V. 3. 209 where M gives uocalis lucos luocaque tempe (Phillimore), but, according to Sänger, *biotaque* looking like *luocaque*, Barl. 23 has *bio...luotaque*, out of which distortions critics have made *Boeotaque*. This passage is an interesting one; for, if *Boeotaque* might seem to be pointed to by MSS, this is not by any means the inevitable or necessary conclusion. Juvenal in a familiar line calls the Boeotian air *crass*; would not this association have attached to the epithet sufficiently to almost connote denseness or stupidity? With this to start with we shall not be in any hurry (*pace* Bährens, Vollmer, Klotz, Phillimore, Postgate, Davies, Slater, Sänger) to accept *Boeotaque* as indicated by our earliest sources for the text of the Silvae on the strength of a much corrupted word. In vol. XIII. p. 96 I suggested *ignotaque*, which though it gives no explanation of *bio* might account for *l uota* as a corruption of *i nota*, g or ng having fallen out.

II. 6. 40—43.

> toruoque uirilis
> Gratia, nec petulans acies blandique seuero
> Igne oculi, qualis †bellis iam† casside uisu
> Parthenopaeus erat.

I think *bellis iam* may be a corruption of *bellaci in*. The adjective *bellax* is found in Lucan IV. 406 *bellaci confisus gente Curictum*.

IV. 8. 25—27.

> Macte quod et proles tibi saepius aucta uirili
> Robore sed iuueni laetam dat uirgo parenti
> Aptior his uirtus, citius dabit illa nepotes.

laetanda est (or *et*) *uirgo parenti* for dare debet laetitiam uirgo parenti has always appeared to me doubtful latinity, though approved by several editors, including Klotz, Postgate, Phillimore and Sänger. Poliziano's *se* for *sed* has the merit of allowing us to retain the rest of the passage as it stands in M, if only *et* is changed to *ut* = postquam 'I wish you joy, that after your stock has received once and again a man child, a daughter now presents her happy self to her young father. If sons are better suited by a life of action, a daughter will sooner produce grandchildren.'

se dat ought not to be altered, particularly in favour of a change which involves a questionable construction.

V. 1. 18—20.

> Sed cum plaga recens et adhuc in uulnere primo
> Nigra domus quaestu miseramque accessus ad aurem
> Coniugis orbati.

Bährens' conjecture N. d. questu *misero hautque* accessus ad aurem Coniugis orbati is open to the objection that *hautque* according to Forcellini is not found, an assertion however which I should be glad to see substantiated by a more careful examination than it has yet received.

Mr Macnaghten (*Journal of Philology*, XIX. p. 135) changes *que* into *qui* translating 'what access can my complaint find to the sorrowing ear of the widower?'

quaestu might perhaps represent an original *quis tum* (Adrianus) or *qui tum*. This I would combine with Macnaghten's qui accessus, thus

> qui tum miseram, qui accessus ad aurem
> Coniugis orbati?

the repetition of *qui* justifying an otherwise unusually harsh elision, and agreeing well with the serious emphasis of the passage.

v. 1. 181.

Linquo equidem thalamos saluo tamen ordine †mostis.

mostis both M and Barlow 23, which, as I suggested in this Journal (XX. p. 18) looks like a corruption of *mortis* (so before me Imhof, as I now learn from Phillimore and Sänger), *s* having been confused with *r*, like *aste* for *arte*, *lacestis* for *lacertis* (Silv. I. 4. 112, v. 5. 8). Both Vollmer and Klotz accept this emendation, *mortis*: the idea that the older should naturally die first is indeed a commonplace in Latin literature. Laudatio Turiae p. 497, l. 29 in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. Supplm. for 1892 iustius erat cedere fato maiorem. Tac. Ann. XVI. 11 seruauitque ordinem fortuna, ac seniores prius, tum cui prima aetas, exstinguuntur.

III. 2. 29, 30.

Pars demittat aquis curuae moderamina puppis,
Sint quibus explorent primos grauis arte molorchos.

There are two points in the tradition of 30 which appear to me to indicate the direction in which emendators may start with some hope of succeeding. None of the numerous conjectures recorded by Sänger in his edition (1909), nor Prof. Slater's lately published in this Journal, can be thought satisfactory.

1. *primos* should be a corruption, not of *remos*, but of *rimas* or possibly *rimosa**. One of the best instances is in Germanicus' *Aratea*, 343, Breysig: Tu paruum leporem rimare sub Orione, where Breysig's Basileensis A (of VIIIth or IXth century) gives PRIMARE; two others, the Matritensis (M) and Paris 7885 (P) *prima re* and *prima res* respectively.

2. *molorchos* (M and Barl. 23) looks like a misspelling of some rather out of the way Greek word; the termination *-os* points to a Greek nominative. Such a word is μόροχθος or as it is sometimes spelt μόροξος, a stone not yet identified, but possessing the quality of *whitening*. Dioscorid. περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς 151 (152) ed. Kühn (I. p. 815) Λίθος μόροχθος ὃν ἔνιοι γαλαξίαν ἢ λευκογραφίδα ἐκάλεσαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεννᾶται, ᾧ καὶ ὀθονοποιοὶ πρὸς λεύκωσιν τῶν ἱματίων χρῶνται μαλακῷ καὶ

* Reading Sint quibus exploret nauis rimosa molorchos.

εὐανέτῳ ὄντι. Kühn's commentary states that it is from an Egyptian word *μαρόχθ dealbare.* Pliny N. H. XXXVII. 173 says it had the colour of a leek, and exuded milk; 162 he states that *galactitis* which he identifies with leucogaea or leucographitis, if rubbed gives out a juice like milk in taste and consistency.

I think it possible that this mineral, a kind of pipe-clay, was used to trace the seams or leaking places in ships, either in a solid form like chalk, or in the milky and fluid shape it sometimes assumed. The seams or open places in the timber of the vessel would be marked with white to indicate where calking was necessary: unless, indeed, the tow or other material used for calking the seams (*rimas*) was *combined* with morochthus in some liquid form as a more effectual bung to keep out the water. This would presuppose special qualities in the liquefied mineral of combining with the tow or other material used for packing and filling the seams. See Torr, Ancient Ships, pp. 14, 15 and notes.

Translate on the above hypothesis 'let there be some (of you Nereids) for whom the *morochthus* (milk stone) traces artfully the seamy places in the ship' = to track the course of the seams with milk-white *morochthus.*'

As to the adj. *grauis* it is hardly possible to do more than guess: the want of certainty in identifying the *morochthus* with any known mineral (Kühn mentions a number of theories) makes it hazardous to do more than suggest. The most natural meaning would, I conceive, be 'strong-smelling,' 'rank,' 'noisome.' Whether anything of the kind attaches to such a stone I have no means of judging; I only mention my suspicion for what it is worth. Possibly *grauis* is a corruption of some other word, *e. g. ratis* or *trabis.*

Manil. IV. 298.

294 . omnia uires
Cum certis sociant signis sub partibus aequis
Et uelut hospitio mundi commercia iungunt
Conceduntque suas partes retinentibus astris.
298 Quam partem deganae dixere decanica gentes.

A numero nomen positum est, quod partibus astra
Condita tricenis triplici sub sorte feruntur.

298 looks like a subsequent addition by some one who did not accept the immediately following etymology from *decem*, *δέκα*.

Decanae or *deganae* explained as it is by *gentes* ought to be the name of some people or tribe. Perhaps the old name of the *Dekkan* in India may be meant.

The name is found in pseudo-Arrian's *Periplus maris Erythraei*, p. 30, ed. Hudson, *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαρόαζαν εὐθέως ἡ συναφὴς ἤπειρος ἐκ τοῦ βορέου εἰς τὸν νότον παρεκτείνει. διὸ καὶ Δαχιναβάδης καλεῖται ἡ χώρα. δάχανος γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ νότος τῇ αὐτῶν γλώσσῃ* and a few lines further on. This is Sanskrit dakshināpathas, Prakrit dakkhināpathas, *i.e.* uersus meridiem iter (note in the Didot edition, where is added '*hodie regio Dekan*').

The word as we recognize it in the v. of Manilius comes straight through the Prakrit form; in which the s has given way to kh, *dakkhina* for *dakshina*. The writer of the verse in Manil. IV. 298 who can hardly have been Manilius himself, took up the name of the Deccan district of India as he had heard it pronounced or (possibly) had seen it written, and introduced his belief of its being the truer explanation of the astrological words *decani*, *decanica*, without shrinking from the divergent quantity of *Decănae*, *decānica*. In this I find little difficulty, even in classical poets such anomalies occur: see my note on Catull. LXIV. 37.

As regards *quam partem* the writer of the v. *may* have meant it to stand where it is 'which subdivision the Dekkan tribes have called (from themselves) the decanicals': *decanica* a neuter plural = decanical parts (*μέρη*): or the line may be out of its place, as it must be allowed to come in, where it is, very awkwardly.

The *uersus de duodecim uentis* (Wernsdorf, PLM v. 525, Riese, Anth. Lat. 484) offer a very similar repetition, 18, 19 Euronotus cui dexter adest, quem nomine mixto Euroaustrum *Latia* dixerunt uoce *Latini*.

Another verse in the same poem on the winds 24 *Huic*

dextram tangit dictus Lips Atthide lingua seems to make my suggestion (Noct. Manil. p. 23) to write in Manil. I. 812 Venerem *tangit* Lunamque for Venerem *inter agit* Lunamque probable. Cf. Carlo Pascal, *Nuovi sagi e note critiche* (Catania, 1909), p. 37.

I subjoin a letter from Prof. Macdonell on the Sanskrit and Prakrit forms *dakṣina, dakkhina.*

"The term *dakṣiṇā-patha-s* (nom.) in Sanskrit means the 'southern path,' *i.e.* 'the southern country' and can be traced in this sense in Sanskrit literature in the early centuries of our era. The Prakrit form of *dakṣiṇa* 'right hand,' 'southern' is *dakkhina. kkh* is the regular Prakrit assimilation for the Sansk. *k-sh*, and is found long before our era in Prakrit inscriptions (which go back to the 3rd cent. B.C.). The Δαχιναβάδης of the *Periplus* would exactly correspond to the Prakrit *dakkhina-patha-s* and Δάχανος to *dakkhina-s.* I am under the impression that Manilius wrote his *Astronomica* quite early in the first century A.D. and that the *Periplus* was written not earlier than about 80 A.D. It is I suppose highly improbable that any earlier Greek source, in which *dakkhina* and *dakkhinā-patha* were reproduced in Greek, existed and was accessible to Manilius? The question as to whether *decănae* and *decanica* can refer to the Deccan seems to depend therefore largely on the chronology of Manilius."

ROBINSON ELLIS.

TOWARDS A RECENSION OF PROPERTIUS.

List of manuscripts mentioned. [Ω = consensus omnium codicum]

N. Neapolitanus (nunc Guelferbytanus, inter Gudianos 224), circa ann. 1200 in Gallia scriptus.

{μ. Parisinus 8233 (sive Memmianus) ann. 1465 Florentiae scriptus.
{ν. (Vaticanus) Urbinas 641. Romae circa 1470 scriptus.

{p. Parmensis 140. saec. xv in fine.
{l. Lusaticus (Goerlitz, Schlesien) A. iii. [I. 20] ann. 1469 Paduae scriptus.

R. Romanus = Vatic. Palat. 910. saec. xv.

{A. Leidensis Voss. 38. circa ann. 1300 in Gallia scriptus. (Post II. 1. 63 deficit.)
{F. Laurentianus 36. 49 inter ann. 1380–1400 scriptus (Florentiae?).

{B. Bruxellensis (Bibl. Reg.) 14638. saec. xv.
{H. Hamburgensis 139. saec. xv.

L. Holkhamicus 333 ann. 1421 in Italia (fortasse septentrionali) scriptus.

Leidens. Vossianus 117. manu Romana, saec. xv.

Paris. 7989. ann. 1423 scriptus.

ex his duobus (uel simillimis) defluxerunt Baehrensii codices duo, saec. xv—xvi,

{D. Dauentriensis (Holland) 1792.
{V. Ottoboniano-Vaticanus 1514.

{g. Gratianopolitanus, Papiae ann. 1472 scriptus.
{d. Dresdensis. D. 133. saec. xv.

M. Mentelianus = Leidens. Lat. 133. A. saec. xv.

Francisci Puccii adnotationes aliquot ex Bernardini Vallae codice 'uetustissimo', ut asseruit, sumptae sunt.

[Groninganus 159. Leid. Voss. Lat. 13. Bodl. Add. B. 55.]

---

c^1. Leidens. Voss. Lat. 81. saec. xv paullo ante medium in Italia scriptus.
c^2. Laurentianus 38. 37. saec. xv.
c^3. Cantabrigiensis Add. 3394. saec. xv circa medium.
c^4. Berolinensis, olim Askewianus. saec. xv.
c^5. Berolin. Diez. B. 41. saec. xv.
[horum exemplar erat C.]

I.

Lachmann was only 23 years old when he published his first edition of Propertius, for which he collated the text of the Wolfenbüttel MS, known as Neapolitanus. He was too young perhaps to grasp the full importance of his own discovery, for he vitiated his results by too credulous reliance on his other chief source, the Groninganus. But from his day to ours the Neapolitanus has been recognised by most competent critics as the safest pilot through the quicksands of the Propertian text. There was a time when it was partially discredited by scholars of little palaeographical experience; it was even pretended that *the parchment* was of the fifteenth century. To clear the ground for a fresh exploration of all the evidence for this poet, I asked Dr M. R. James to proceed with me to Wolfenbüttel in 1903. The results of his inspection of the MS and of my photographs of it were published in the *Classical Review* [vol. XVII. p. 462]. He established that its date was somewhere about 1200, and that it was written on the borders of France and Germany in the region of Metz. His inferences were confirmed by another distinguished palaeographer, our friend Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B., who concluded that the MS had once formed part of the great library of Épinal. Dr James also examined with me at Leyden Baehrens' A, part of a MS written in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Upon this MS and its Florentine relative, F, Baehrens' views are sound enough, except that the writing of F assigns it to the end of the fourteenth century, not to the fifteenth. But Baehrens vitiated his results by wilfully discrediting N and by his uncritical belief in D and V, a pair of MSS first noticed by

himself and by him dated about a century too early. I have carefully examined each of them and possess photographs of various pages. I attribute them to the very last decade of the fifteenth century; they might even be later. This is the opinion of all palaeographers who have seen the photographs. Evidence of date is of course no certain evidence of value: but Baehrens' flagrant palaeographical errors must be recorded against his judgement, because in his prefaces he invariably assumes the rôle of the experienced palaeographer[1].

N and F families of Northern origin.

The MS evidence vouchsafed to their students by Lachmann and Baehrens amounted to the sum of NAFDV (for we may ignore the Groninganus). Since 1880 the only notable additions to this list have been L (Holkhamicus), another incomplete but honest member of the gens of AF, which contributed no very striking details but a deal of solid confirmation, l (Lusaticus), interpolated, and μ and ν (from Paris and Rome) which supply confirmation, and here and there explanation, of readings of N. From N (with μ, ν, l) and F with A and L a representative text might be prepared. But representative of what? What do we know of these two traditions? Coluccio's letters and his name as a subscription connect F with the tradition as read by Petrarch; Postgate has pointed out that the Latin Epistles of Petrarch bound up with Propertius in L confirm this connection. The story that Petrarch was the *first* Italian scholar after the black ages who possessed a Propertius has no intrinsic improbability. But whence did he procure it?

Now A, which in minute errors agrees with F, was written in France at about the time of Petrarch's birth. On the borders of France N first saw the light a full century earlier. But Petrarch's copy was not N, which need not (from the signs upon it) have reached Italy before the middle of the fifteenth century, when Manetti signed his name in it.

I can add some slight evidence to show from what point of the compass Petrarch's copy probably came. I can attach

[1] I do not mean to disparage Baehrens as a literary critic. His edition of Propertius is quite indispensable.

a family of two to the gens AFL. They are the Hamburgensis (H) and Bruxellensis Bibl. Reg. 14638 (B), two MSS first fully collated by myself. These two in agreement record the readings of either some different copy of Petrarch's MS or more probably those of a MS brother to Petrarch's and often more, sometimes less, faithful than his to a common exemplar. One striking instance will suffice to prove the intimate family tie, taken from II. 24. 46. The passage runs,

credo ego non paucos ista periisse figura,
credo ego sed multos non habuisse fidem.
paruo dilexit spatio Minoida Theseus,
Phyllida Demophoon, hospes uterque malus.
†iam tibi Iasonia nota est Medea carina
et modo seruato sola relicta uiro.

In the last verse FL omit 'seruato' without sign; the oldest corrector of F gives 'fallaci' to fill the gap—a second emendation 'ab infido' is perhaps to be traced to Poggio, or his friends. But BH give 'et modo *esonio*'; and this is confirmed by Bodl. Add. B. 55, a debased MS of the same family, which has 'et modo *ab* esonio.' The reading of BH has but to be quoted to establish itself as that of some ancestor of FL. 'Esonio' was then omitted by a copyist who saw that it had crept in through repetition of 'iasonia' from above. This reading supplies the key with which to solve the uncertainty of the preceding line. The composition is most carefully balanced for four lines; but this balance is destroyed by the frigid 'iam tibi' of 45. Baehrens, feeling the flaw, emended wildly. I read

et modo Iasonia nota est Medea carina
et modo seruato sola relicta uiro

and give any credit for the correction to the honest BH. But to return; BH are closely akin to AFL. They show a remarkable subscription, which runs in each

PROPERTII AVRELII NAVTE MONOBI(Y)BLOS FELICITER EXPLICIT. VEL LIBER ELEGIARVM PROPERTII FINIT.

Of these apparent alternatives much might be written; but now I wish to call attention only to the last word, FINIT. This is found (instead of 'explicit') only in Irish, Anglo-

Saxon or Breton MSS, as Bradshaw perhaps first discovered and Professor Kuno Meyer has lately affirmed to me. It is a fact, therefore, and not a theory that a MS (or at least part of a MS) from which BH derive was itself descended from an Irish or Anglo-Saxon exemplar. As a rule such subscriptions were altered by fifteenth century Italian scribes to 'explicit' in their copies. An instance is ready to hand. Whereas v (= Urbinas 641) has

> 'propertii aurelii naute elegiarum liber quartus et ultimus *finit* laus deo'

its brother μ (= Paris. Lat. 8233) has

> 'aurelii propertii naute elegiarum liber quartus et ultimus *explicit.*
> Gherardu Cerasius Florentinus scripsit
> Florentie laus deo.

No Italian scribe would put 'finit' for an original 'explicit.' v gives proof by this one word that the important support of N derived from this family dates back to an Irish or Anglo-Saxon or Breton book.

NAμvBH are thus shown to have had (in the immediate line) a northern, non-Italian origin. A, the nearest in text to FL, is French. The presumption is very strong that Petrarch's copy was procured from some northern monastery. A fourteenth century French exemplar written like A would account for many of the special errors of FL and BH; mistaken abbreviations and confusion of the letters m, n, u, i, c, recur constantly in FL and not seldom in BH.

A text founded upon these two main classes of MSS (which are only two as being better and worse branches of one central stem) might fairly be called a representative *northern* text. And northern texts are less likely (a priori) to be interpolated than texts copied and recopied in a land where the spoken tongue is close to Latin.

Origins of DV.

I have stated that D and V, which still appear as authorities in the editions, are books of the latest fifteenth century. They are scholarly compilations drawing upon various sources; the main stream is a MS close to F

and L, but not actually either of them, and the chief tributary that tradition which Baehrens noticed to be uncommon and sometimes true. He had not far to seek to discover this tradition in its completeness; for it is possible that the very MS from which the editors of D and V drew for these readings still exists at Leyden as Vossianus 117. This is another startling indication of Baehrens' judgement (and indeed later scholars are not blameless in the matter). He handled Vossianus 117: "hunc librum adhibuit vir doctus Aemilius Baehrens." And he made a collation, if a hurried and inaccurate collation, of F. Yet in his edition he sets up D and V as authorities. The tradition of Voss. 117 falls between F and N, but frequently it has suffered interpolation and emendation.

To show the truth of my contention that D and V derive from Vossianus 117 I give readings of this latter from a region taken at random.

I. 16. 8. tenere (V)	28. trammite (DV)
18. tam (DV)	I. 19. 10. Thessalis (DV)
I. 17. 2. alcynoas (V)	uerberat (DV)
6. increpet (DV)	13. ueniat (DV)
8. harena (DV)	23. inuitas (DF_1)
18. optatas (DV)	I. 20. 8. cinxerit (DV_1)
26. noto (DV)	10. uagi (V_1)
I. 18. 12. firmosos (DV_1)	11. cupidas semper (DV)
18. non nulla (DV)	20. scapulis (D_2V_2)
20. amata (DV)	

I end with 'scapulis' because it is surely a conclusive detail. Both D and V add the word in the margin, while they read 'scopulis' in the text. But 'scapulis' is found in no other tradition.

It is possible also to define narrowly the limits within which we may seek the F MS which was the foundation of D and V and many other conflated copies of their time.

In the passage quoted above (II. 24. 46) DV give 'et modo *ab infido* sola relicta uiro.' V in its margin (and the marginal notes of D and almost all those of V are by the first hand) gives 'seruato'; D gives 'fallaci.' 'Seruato' is the reading of almost all MSS and could easily be procured by a compiler; 'fallaci' is the reading of Voss. 117 and of the first corrector

in F, but is found in no other copies that can lay claim to authority. But D and V each place in the text a reading (found in *no* MS of sound authority) which first appears in 1423 in that now known as Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 7989. This MS is discussed in *C. R.* vol. XXII. p. 178 by A. C. Clark. It is that found at Trau in Dalmatia which contains the 'cena Trimalchionis' as discovered by Poggio a few years before 1423—the *only* copy made from the 'particula Petronii' which survives to our day. Clark there suggested that as Poggio at one time *lost* his Propertius, this might possibly be the very book he lost: but he now withdraws the suggestion. Poggio shortly recovered his Propertius.

This text of Propertius, being bound up with the 'cena Trimalchionis,' at least comes from Poggio's circle and contains ingenious emendations by some good scholar or scholars. It is an F MS, as these readings prove.

I. 1. 1. fecit (man. prima). (AFB).
18. memini. (AF).
II. 13. 13. confugerint. F_1.
28. 21. monstrata (man. prima). FL.
III. 19. 4. libere. FBHL.

But it is an F MS much corrected. For instance at I. 16. 47 AF have 'sic ego *et* domine uitiis et s. a.' but Paris. 7989 has 'sic ego *uel* d. u. *uel* s. a.'

A much more flagrant interpolation is found at IV. 2. 29, where this MS gives

'sobrius ad lites uitis mihi pone coronam,'

a reading nowhere copied.

With these two corrections in our mind we can return to the passage II. 24. 46, where Paris. 7989 has

'et modo ab infido sola relicta uiro.'

This is an F MS and therefore the exemplar had either 'esonio' or nothing where Poggio or his friend read 'ab infido.' He assumed at IV. 2. 29 that 'uitis' had been lost after 'litis': here he assumed that 'ab infi*do*' had disappeared after 'mo*do*,'

forgetting that 'modo' would infallibly have been abbreviated in a MS of the requisite date.

At IV. 1. 15 Paris. 7989 gives 'nec sinuosa suo...,' the reading of DV. 'cauo,' the true reading, is omitted by F_1L.

Certain emendations hitherto ascribed to much later scholars are to be found in the text of this book, of date 1423. But for the purpose of explaining DV I shall quote but one more reading. Both Paris. 7989 and Voss. 117 give at I. 8. 19

utere felici praeuecta Ceraunia remo,

which is one of the certainly true readings hitherto credited to DV. 'Ut te' is the tradition, 'et te' (B) the only variant of sound authority. Voss. 117 was written some forty years later than 1423, and contains readings which are certainly deliberate emendations, e.g. at II. 28. 29 'omnis herodias inter' (DV). DV are among the very few copies that contain this reading 'utere,' which was unknown to Poliziano and to the chief compilers of the middle of the century: e.g. the Corsinianus, a MS compact of emendations and dated 1460, does not notice it. Perhaps this Propertius, like Poggio's before it, suffered temporary eclipse and emerged from obscurity again at some date later than 1460. At least it seems probable that each of the parents of DV had 'utere' in its text.

There are only a very few readings quoted by D or V that do not come from the sources FL Paris. 7989 and Voss. 117, that is, from the weaker stream of the northern tradition, pure or deliberately diverted[1]. But let me fasten upon one which cannot be so explained. At II. 3. 22 V notes in the margin '† lyrines.' The lines run,

et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
carminaque †quiuis† non putat aequa suis.

'lyrines' is a 'uox nihili' with a clearly Greek termination; it comes from the tradition of $\mu\nu$, which both give this in the text, and their tradition, supporting and explaining N's, has passed, as we saw, through an Irish or Anglo-Saxon monastery.

[1] Postgate came very near to this explanation of DV in a footnote, p. 70, 'On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius,' [*Cambridge Philological Transactions.*] Indeed, the facts I adduce only confirm his idea.

There are one or two other passages in which (as it will be found) μ and υ preserve a detail lost or altered even in N. To mention one, there is IV. 1. 65 (old style),

scandentes †quisquis† cernet de uallibus arces,
ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

Here N at first left a gap, then took the plunge (and some fresh ink) and emended the doubtful reading of the exemplar to 'quisquis,' which does not fill the gap. This reading is not found in any other MS that claims consideration. FL have 'quasuis,' the majority of fifteenth century copies 'si quis.' From the reading of FL I suggested '-que Asis' in 1903, and Butler rightly read 'qui Asis' in his text (1905). Rightly, because 'asis' proves to be the reading of μ and of υ; it is quoted in the margin of F; it is corrupted to 'asuis' in Laurentianus 33. 14 (an F MS), to 'asis si quis' in many debased F MSS as well as in l (Lusaticus); and finally in Parmensis 140 (p), closest of kin to, but much more honest than l, we find

'alusi quis' (apparently) altered to 'ălis q̃ui' (i.e. qui alis).

In the light of this evidence against the unimpeachable honesty of NFL and the majority of MSS we may disregard the decision of all recent editors to ignore the reading 'lyrines' at II. 3. 22, and may return to the necessary correction of the Italians, 'Erinnes,' which alone can restore balance to the couplet and alone account for the corruption. (The first dated MS which contains this correction is Berolinensis Lat. fol. 500, written at Naples in March 1460.)

Valla's uetus codex.

At this point I take leave of the vulgate tradition, as reported to us by previous editors. It is time to make thorough search among the fifteenth century MSS for any threads of evidence, such as this scarcely considered 'lyrines,' which might be clues to some parallel but quite different tradition of the poet's text. For the F tradition is too close to that of N and its congeners to throw any very penetrating light upon it. Our search must be not for copies *allied* to N or F but for texts, if possible, widely different.

Is there any *a priori* probability that our search will be rewarded? There were a number of ancient MSS of Propertius in Italy by the end of the fifteenth century. It is not likely that any presented purer texts than N: yet no mention seems to be made of 'Manetti's *uetus codex*.' The oldest was held to be Bernardino Valla's; this Pucci collated after his fashion into his printed copy (Reggio 1481) now in the Riccardi Library at Florence. He says that the MS was presented by Valla to Alfonso II of Naples. Some have thought that Valla's codex was N itself; but there is no evidence at all for this in Pucci's notes or in N. Valla's codex was seen at Rome by Poliziano in 1484; it was presumably the same which he mentions in 1485 in his printed copy now in the Corsini Library at Rome as having been collated into another book (now lost). Since Manetti died in 1459, N *might* have drifted to Rome: one cannot say more. One can only roughly guess from Pucci's notes that this MS was *like* the N family. He quotes from it several obvious emendations; he says that there was no break in it between II. 7. 12 and 13, a most improbable detail; then he affirms that II. 27 was not divided from II. 26, which, if it be true, would bring the MS into line with μ and υ, where this division actually is lacking. The reading 'ardidus' at II. 3. 24 is found in NF$\mu\upsilon$. 'psilla' quoted at I. 1. 13 occurs in no MS, but *may* be a true detail (a from ei). At II. 1. 47 his printed text has the base reading of the Mentelianus and other late MSS 'laus si datur altera uiuo.' He writes: 'ita habet uetus codex. et ita quadrat sensus....' It is impossible that this reading stood originally in the text of any authoritative MS: if it was in Valla's when Pucci saw it someone had tampered with the famous 'v. c.' Only one other note throws any light. At II. 30. 35 he quotes 'comprensa,' and the Dresdensis, which (like its brother at Grenoble) has been conflated with a text nearly allied to N, gives 'comprensa' there. It is just possible that this is a true detail. But Pucci's notes, unreliable as they are, leave no doubt that Valla's MS or Poliziano's collation of it would now be of little use to us, except perhaps to support the already well-supported N$\mu\upsilon$. There is no trace in these quotations from the 'v. c.' of a distinct tradition which would

contrast with theirs. The one really remarkable note is not referred to the 'v. c.': this is the variant 'stulta' for 'forte' at II. 3. 26, which is unlikely as an emendation, yet is not found in any MS of the NF classes.

When Perreius in 1528 or so (7 years after Pucci's notes) writes 'collatis uetustissimis exemplaribus alio Pontani alio Episcopi Cremon. alio Fran. Puccii nec non aliis Romae et Florent. habitis' he is referring, I think, to the early 'incunabula' with annotations by these scholars. Pucci does not himself claim to possess an ancient MS, and for Pontano there is no certain evidence at all.

II.

Dislocated manuscripts.

I began my search for new evidence at Cambridge itself. The University Library contains one MS of Propertius (Add. 3394—formerly Phillipps MS 18832). This was copied between 1440 and 1460, I should say, in Italy. The text it presents is very seriously dislocated in the first two books. The sequence is as follows: I. 1. 1 to I. 3. 46; I. 6. 1—I. 7. 26; I. 4. 1—I. 5. 32; I. 9. 25—I. 11. 20; I. 8. 1—I. 9. 24; I. 11. 21—II. 9. 52; II. 13. 1—58; II. 10. 1—II. 12. 24; II. 15. 29—II. 16. 30; II. 14. 1—II. 15. 28; II. 16. 31, and then onwards as in other copies (except for dislocations in IV. 7 and 8).

These disordered pieces average in length about 60 lines each: the first piece is a double length. They are copied out consecutively and directions to help the reader are inserted in the margin afterwards. A palaeographer will perceive at once that these pieces stand for leaves of some dislocated exemplar, or at least for an approximation to their number of lines. This exemplar will have been ancient, for a new book does not suffer thus; and, unless some interest attached to the text, a copy so awkwardly arranged for the reader would scarcely have been undertaken at all.

The text presents at once some unusual features; we have spellings (lungus, fruns, moetus, foemina, Pullux) such as are unknown in the NF tradition. And we find strange unreported readings; e.g. at II. 3. 22 carmina quae *lyrinos* (lyrines $\mu\upsilon$);

at II. 16. 27 uestigia *limbis*; at II. 26. 39 cum *satis* Argo | dux erat.. ; at III. 17. 28 *noxia* turba; at III. 23. 18 ducitur hora *loris*; at IV. 3. 7 *iteratro* bactra per ortus. Perhaps most curious of all is the reading at IV. 4. 47, tota *purgabitur* urbe, for this has been admitted into a Cambridge text of the poet as a modern emendation. (The corrector's hand here alters it to the common 'pugnabitur,' but 'purgabitur' was what the first hand copied.) The new and strange readings stand as a rule in the text, and sometimes, as in the last instance given above, are there altered to the accepted tradition of NF. How do I know that all these readings are not emendations, of some of which the author afterwards repented? Of those I have quoted two cannot possibly be emendations; 'iteratro' and 'lyrinos' are *uoces nihili*. 'Lyrines' we have seen to be the reading of $\mu\upsilon$; 'lyrinos' looks like an old corruption of the already corrupt 'lyrines.' The scribe of our MS gives the ordinary 'quiuis' as a variant. 'Iteratro' also occurs at a suspected point. 'Iteratos Bactra per ortus' has long been a stumbling-block to the critic. Apart from the difficulty of translating the words, they fail to supply the balance for 'munito Sericus hostis equo' in the pentameter. One feels that some typical characteristic of Bactrian warfare lies concealed under the letters. It is startling therefore to find in a MS of unusual stamp that the 's' of 'iteratos' has been dropped, and a quasi-ablative laid bare. [N, it will be remembered, omits 'Bactra per ortus' altogether.]

Thus it seemed at first sight not improbable that the unknown element in the first dislocated MS that I unearthed was due to MS tradition hitherto untapped and not to the irresponsible whim of an Italian of the Renaissance. But the rest of the MS evidence would decide for me. In searching Europe for texts as unlike NF as possible, I should keep in mind the peculiar element in the Cambridge MS and attempt to discover its origin.

The two men who have taken the most pains since Baehrens to unearth new MS evidence for Propertius, Hosius and Postgate, seem to have made a fundamental error in seeking MSS *like* those already known. Hosius' publication

of v, and Postgate's of μ and L, were certainly important; indeed, in my own view, there are still fragments of the truth to be extracted from L. But Postgate relegated 'to limbo...*from a somewhat brief examination*...all (the MSS) in the Library at Leyden except A.' [On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius, p. 56, *Cambridge Philological Transactions.*] Now, besides A (and Vossianus 117) there are two *dislocated* MSS at Leyden, and Postgate is rather for than against transpositions[1] of the text. One of these two, the Mentelianus, is a deeply interpolated NF MS; the other is Vossianus Lat. 81. Hosius may have seen, but certainly overlooked, at Florence an unpretentious MS of the middle of the fifteenth century—Laurentianus 38. 37.

But these two books, Voss. 81 and Laur. 38. 37, present so many remarkable features that even a somewhat brief examination ought to have established their anomalous, and therefore interesting, position. They are decidedly unlike either N or F and owe their obscurity to this fact. I shall name Voss. 81 c^1 and Laur. 38. 37 c^2.

c^1 was written between 1440 and 1450 and contains (in the same handwriting throughout) Priapea, Moretum, Rosarum liber, Copa, Deest et non est, Bonus et sapiens, Culex, Carmen anonymi, Petronius Arbiter, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. It seems then to have been the property of a scholar who made apographs for himself. The hand is good and distinctive and will perhaps be identified by some researcher with a wide knowledge of Renaissance writing. (I have myself collated the Tibullus and Catullus as well as the Propertius: the Catullus, Culex, and Petronius Arbiter have been examined before.)

c^2 cannot be exactly dated, but is of the second half of the 15th century—a paper book, badly written. It contains only Propertius.

c^1 is dislocated in the second book, thus. After II. 14. 7 comes II. 16. 48 without any sign of a break made by the

[1] I do not mean to imply that these particular dislocations help much to solve the problems of the text. But I hold that they deserved to be recorded, as so much evidence that MSS of Propertius have in fact suffered damage.

scribe. He continues to II. 18. 35, and thence returns without sign to II. 14. 8. After II. 16. 47 comes II. 18. 36. These inverted pieces contain respectively 64 and 128 lines, one line being allowed by c^1 between poems. A palaeographer will at once infer that in some MS ancestor in the direct line a single leaf of 64 lines fell out and was replaced two leaves too soon. A slight accident of this kind would prove nothing alone; but the Mentelianus is at Leyden too and this is dislocated as follows, in the first book.

I. 1 to VI. 11; VIII. 12 to IX. 28; VI. 12 to VIII. 11; XI. 27 to XIV. 2; IX. 29 to XI. 26; from XIV. 3 onwards as usual.

These pieces, which are copied out without sign of any incongruity by the scribe, contain respectively 192 (= 64 × 3), 64, 64, 64, 64 lines, one line being allowed as in c^1 between poems. The Mentelianus presents a text so basely interpolated that one can only infer that its tradition was once akin to NF; it contains none of the readings quoted from the Cambridge MS above except 'noxia' at III. 17. 28, and this is found in a number of late, interpolated MSS, including the Groninganus. Yet it seems that this book was eventually descended from an exemplar with 64 lines to the leaf which suffered dislocation —just like c^1.

If we now compare the dislocations of the Mentelianus with those of the Cambridge MS in Book I we find that they roughly correspond, but that the latter has obscured the correspondence by closing its sections thrice *at the end of a poem*. The Cambridge scribe or his predecessor would not submit to the whole unreasonableness of the order he was set to copy. Similarly in the second Book he begins dislocated sections at XIII. 1, X. 1, and XIV. 1. Unless our inferences are wide of the mark c^1 proves that this last section began really at XIV. 8.

We have now shown that there existed in Italy about the year 1450 at least one MS from which copies were made preserving to a greater or less degree the unusual feature of dislocated passages of 64 lines apiece. Perhaps two: but we can now discard the Mentelianus and its base progenitors.

Is the text of c^1 akin to that of the Cambridge MS in detail?

c^1 has at II. 3. 22 carmina quae *liricis*; at IV. 3. 7 *iterato* bactra per ortus. The other five readings quoted above stand in the text of c^1: limbis, satis, noxia, loris, purgabitur. c^1 has no variants and no corrections except those made *currente calamo*.

c^2 has *lumbis* at II. 16. 27; *iteratos* at IV. 3. 7; *pugnabitur* at IV. 4. 47; but contains the other readings lirinos, satis, noxia, loris. c^2 like c^1 has no variants or corrections by later hands.

We may now call the Cambridge MS c^3; and from Berlin we add the Askewianus, a paper MS still more contemptible in appearance and writing than c^2, a MS at the head of which has been written "confudit v. humillimus," and call it c^4. [The only other MS of this class which can be quoted is Berolin. Diez. B. 41 (d'Orvillii 2), which retains in its debased state a number of the chief readings of its stock, *e.g.* purgabitur, iterato, noxia, and lirinos (altered from lириris, as it appears). But we need not consider c^5 in this place.]

The tradition of C.

c^1, c^2, c^3 and c^4 taken together contribute all that remains of a strange, old, corrupt, true tradition which first appears in Italy somewhere before 1450 and thereafter permeates the conflated MSS to a greater or less degree.

By considering all the four MSS together we can arrive at an idea of what the original (C) was like. c^1 and c^3 tell us that it was much disordered; c^2 and c^4 give no hint of this. The spelling of c^1 and c^2 is more often archaic than that of c^3 and c^4. Something must be said at once about the spelling.

oe for *e* occurs frequently in this family only, *e.g.* moediis, moecenas, foemina, moetus, excoepi, infoelix: (so once c^1 has *focinina* for foemina of C).

o for *u* and *u* for *o* recur; lungus, lungeuus, volgari, nullos amor, nollo premisso, concti, mondi, romola hasta.

q for *qu* is usual in c^1, c^2—equs, even *ecus*; iniqus; loquta; this spelling occurs very seldom in the other traditions.

quor for *cur* most commonly in c^1 and c^3; *quoi* for *cui*, frequent except in c^4; *qui* for *cui* once or twice.

Misunderstanding of these spellings leads to c^1 having at II. 22. 13,

queris demophon *quot* (= quor) smitam mollis et omne (*sic*)

and at II. 23. 1,

Quot (= quoi) fuit indocti...

Again it gives *quot* for 'coi' at III. 1. 1.

'quoius' and 'quo uis' represent 'cuius.'

'qum' for 'cum' recurs and often becomes 'quin' in the copies; but 'quom' is the commonest spelling.

('quom' and 'quor' are rare in MSS of the NF classes, except that BH frequently have 'quom.')

A curious feature is the doubling or misplacing of *n* in words containing 'ng' or 'gn': thus, frangne (which becomes 'fragne' or even 'frage' on occasion): constringnit, lingna (= ligna), stangna, logni quo (= longinquo).

Another is the spelling *k* for initial *co* or *ca*—thus Klisto (= Callisto), ktenis, krine (= Corinnae): perhaps it is due to the usual klendae, but it is unknown in other families of Propertian MSS.

Enough has been said to show the anomalous position of C. Most of my quotations have been from c^1 and c^2, which are more faithful in such details than c^3 and c^4. c^3, c^4 each give occasional marginal variants, and in the case of c^4 it is sometimes C's reading in the margin. But not seldom c^3 or c^4 preserves a fragment of the ancient tradition which c^1 and c^2 have missed.

There is nothing against using even a conflated MS for evidence as long as we can be certain of the sources it taps.

Quotations from C.

Let us now take certain passages which will help us to form an idea of the importance and of the appearance of C.

(1) IV. 4. 47.

cras ut rumor ait tota †pugnabitur urbe.

pugnabitur. All MSS of the NF classes, also c^2c^3 corr.
purgabitur. $c^1c^3{}_1c^5$. Huleatt ex emendatione.
lustrabitur. c^4.

Over the text of C, which would seem not to have been quite clear, was a gloss 'lustrabitur' which c^4 alone copied instead of the word it explained. Was 'pugnabitur' also in C as a variant? For c^2 here agrees with c^3_2.

The reading of C is true against all the other MSS.

(2) IV. 3. 7.

te modo uiderunt †iteratos Bactra †per ortus,
[te modo munito Sericus hostis equo.]

iteratos. All MSS of the NF classes; also c^2.
iterato. $c^1c^4c^5$.
iteratro. c^3.
per ortus. All MSS except Ng.
[per ortos. g (Gratianopolitanus.)]
N omits.
recessu. c^4_1 in margine pro u. l.

Apparently C had 'iterat^o' or 'iteratto,' which would account for c^3. Was 'iteratos' in the margin for c^2 to copy? Perhaps it had 'per ortus' in the text; perhaps only as a variant. c^4 gives the gloss which explained the original reading, whether it still stood in C or had lost its place or been mutilated past recognition.

What the Bactrians did twice or did doubly concerned their *retreat*. In this same poem the subject returns, with the words

subdolus et uersis increpat arcus equis.

In a couplet which concerned the same pair of people (III. 12. 11, 12) Propertius wrote, contrasting light and heavy cavalry,

neue tua Medae laetentur caede *sagittae*,
ferreus aurato neu cataphractus equo.
(*Sericus* Markland.)

Now the unparalleled 'recessu' (c^4) is no more likely to be a casual emendation than 'lustrabitur' (c^4) in the passage above. It would appear that Propertius used a word not unlike 'perortu' to describe some crafty action of the enemy

for which 'recessu' would be a more general term: just as 'lustrabitur' explains the less obvious 'purgabitur' above[1].

(3) III. 17. 25—28.

curuaque Tyrrhenos delphinum corpora nautas
in uada pampinea desiluisse rate,
et tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
unde tuum potant Naxia turba merum.

Both 'Naxon' and 'Naxia' cannot be right: since Palmer thought of 'per Diam' it has generally been held that the correction is needed in the hexameter. Yet, if 'Naxia turba' is sound, the poet calls the pirates both Tyrrhene and Naxian in one breath; for as the incident took place off Naxos it is inconceivable that 27, 28 should refer to some different and unrecorded myth. The pirates turned to dolphins because of their unbelief drank in the harbour of Naxos the rivers turned to wine. Again, if 'Naxon' be altered, the balance of this section of eight lines (21—28) is destroyed unless it be replaced by a substantive agreeing with 'mediam' or 'Diam'; and no such substitute can be found.

For 'naxia turba' $c^1c^2c^3c^4c^5$ have '*noxia* turba.' 'Non Naxii (*i.e.* Bacchici) sed noxii' implies the poet by the verbal pun; so were Lycurgus Pentheus and the rest "sinners' towards the god. Cp. de Augusti Bello Aegyptiaco Carmen, 36:

'quo noxia turba coiret
praeberetque suae spectacula tristia mortis.'

(4) II. 16. 27, 28.

barbarus exclusis agitat uestigia lumbis
et subito felix nunc mea regna tenet.

[1] I suggest that his unusual phrase was '*iterato retortu*'. They faced about once, and then, still seated on their retreating horses, faced about a second time and shot back over their horses' tails, in the manner represented in various works of art. 'retortu' would be a most vivid description of the action, and, as the substantive seems to occur nowhere in literature, it might well lead N or its ancestors to mistrust it. But 'argutat' (I. 6. 7) is not the less Propertian because it occurs nowhere else.

"The outlandish fellow bustles to and fro on the brawny legs to which her door was denied—and the next moment, here he is in luck, possessed of my domain!" trans. Phillimore (Oxford, 1906).

But did the poet really admit violation of sense and Latinity (and the lowest comedy) into this bitter passage?

c^1c^3 (and certain conflated MSS) have 'limbis.' [Vossianus 13, a compilation which often quotes the C tradition, has 'lembis' as a variant.]

Thetis dressing Achilles as a girl (Statius, *Achill.* I. 330).

> picturato cohibens uestigia limbo
> incessum motusque docet fandique pudorem.

The 'limbus' suited the mincing step of a woman or the stately processional walk of a victor in the games; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 250:

> uictori chlamydem auratam quam plurima circum
> purpura.

Apollo (in Statius, *Theb.* 6. 345)

> picto discingit pectora limbo.

[Lactantius, *ad loc.*] zona ceu fascia. limbus enim proprie fascia picta dicitur quae imis assuitur vestibus. ut Virgilius [*Aen.* IV. 137]:

Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo (of Dido).

That a coarse ungainly 'provincial' should wear a delicate chlamys adorned with more than one purple 'limbus' (cf. *plurima*...purpura above) naturally offends Propertius: but it pleases Cynthia—'ponderat una sinus[1].'

[1] For 'exclusis' N has 'exclusit': I conjecture that Propertius wrote

Barbarus *excultis* agitat uestigia limbis.

Cf. Ou. A. A. 2. 220 (of Hercules)

Inter Ioniacas calathum tenuisse puellas
Creditur et lanas excoluisse rudes.

The sharp juxtaposition of 'excultis' and 'barbarus' is quite in the Propertian manner. 'His only culture lay in his coat:' 'exclusit' and 'exclusis' might then be explained as due to 'limbis' being understood of a figurative Limbo.

Let us consider the indications as to C's nature given by the quotations from $c^1c^2c^3c^4$ so far.

Glosses in C.

The first two passages taken together create a strong presumption that its tradition was *glossed*. We will throw further light on this single point.

(5) II. 16. 7.

quare, si sapis, oblatas ne desere messes.

quare codd.

spolia c^1c^2; the gloss on 'messes' having crept into the text of C.

(6) II. 28. 51.

uobiscum est Iope, uobiscum candida Tyro,
uobiscum Europe nec proba Pasiphae.

c^1. uobiscum est iope thalamis nec proba pasyphe
uobiscum europe [omm. cett.].

c^2. uobiscum ethiope thalamis nec proba phasife
uobiscum europe [omm. cett.].

c^3. uobiscum est iope nec proba pasiphe.

['iope' is then erased and 'europe' substituted, and 51 written into the margin in full.]

c^4 has the vulgate text, except for 'iople' and 'pasiphie.'

From c^1c^2 it appears that 'thalamis' stood in C, probably in the text itself. If it is merely the ablative of 'thalamus' it is a very flat and inaccurate note, which misses the point of 'uobiscum.'

There was a city of Elis called Thalamae, and Tyro's legend is connected by Strabo (VIII. p. 356) with Elis, not as by Propertius with Thessaly. Yet if this note were intended to connect Tyro with Thalamae in Elis, it would be the only evidence in literature of any such connection. But, as has been pointed out to me by a learned friend, Thalamae *in Laconia* was connected especially with the worship of Pasiphae [Pausanias III. 26. 1][1], and c^1c^2 which omit 'uobiscum candida

[1] The passage runs: "From Oetylum to Thalamae the distance by road is about eighty furlongs: on the road is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle.... Bronze images stand in the open part of the sanctuary: one is an image of

Tyro' connect the gloss with the second half of the pentameter. This, while a much more probable explanation than the foregoing, still assumes great antiquity for the note and deep scholarship in the annotator. The next two instances will however go some way to confirm the impression that he understood even the 'finesse' of the poet's meaning.

(7) I. 6. 15.

ut mihi deducta faciat conuicia puppi
Cynthia et insanis ora notet manibus,
osculaque opposito dicat sibi debita uento
et nihil infido durius esse uiro.

sibi debita codd.
sibi dedita Voss. 117.
contraria $c^1c^2c^3{}_1c^4{}_1$ (et Leidensis Voss. 13).

These verses must be taken closely with 5, 6 and then 7—12. Verses 5, 6 run thus

sed me complexae remorantur uerba puellae
mutatoque graues saepe colore preces,

where 'uerba' in connection with 'preces' means 'binding formulae': it must be remembered that *forms of words* were cause for superstition. Cf. I. 8. 21, 22:

nam me non ullae poterunt corrumpere *dirae* [dire c^2: de te codd.]
quin ego, uita, tuo limine uerba querar,

where the force of 'uerba querar' is 'make moan in lovers' phrase,' *i.e.* lest luck desert the careless speaker.

Cynthia binds Propertius to her side: and the poet in imagination beholds her still binding him with success at the launching of the ship, if ever he dared take it. She would curse him as the ship struck the water. Who could go to sea accursed? She would disfigure herself and thus bring upon

Pasiphae, the other is of the Sun.... Pasiphae is a surname of the moon and *not a local divinity of the people of Thalamae.*" [Frazer.] So Pausanias knows, but does not accept, the view of the people that Pasiphae was their local nymph. Plutarch, Agis 9 says the sanctuary and oracle were those of Pasiphae. [Cf. Frazer ad loc.]

the faithless lover the evil eye. "She would cry aloud (dicat), when the wind proved contrary, that kisses were owing to her from me"—and that *therefore* it was contrary: owed kisses caused its contrariety, it was under the beloved's curse. Cf. again the same poem, which should be considered beside this—I. 8. 13, 14:

atque ego non uideam tali sub sidere uentos
cum tibi productas auferat unda rates.

[productas c^1, prouectas codd. at cf. u. 19.]

If the winds were under the Vergiliae when she started his binding curses had been in vain; for under the Vergiliae one could safely sail. In the present poem Propertius has no hope that Cynthia's curses would fail. The winds would certainly not be under the Vergiliae, when his ship was launched. And when she found them contrary, she would cry out to his confusion that he was the Jonah, that 'his kisses were contrary.'

C's reading 'contraria' shows, I believe, that the *glossator* had a most intimate understanding of the *nuances* of Latin.

(8) Another instance, II. 3. 25, 26:

haec tibi contulerint caelestia munera diui,
haec tibi ne matrem forte dedisse putes.

[For contulerint (Ω), cf. Catull. 67. 20: 'falsum est. non illam uir prior attigerit.']

It is at this v. 26 that Pucci, like many compilers of the fifteenth century, quotes as a variant for 'forte' '*stulta*.'

c^1 has here

hec ne matrem forte stulta dedisse putes.

c^2 has nec ne matrem forte stulta d. p.

This reading 'stulta' is found in no other tradition: it is the only reading peculiar to this tradition quoted by Pucci.

At first sight 'stulta' looks extremely plausible: for Propertius twice places the vocative of this word in the same position in the line: at II. 21. 18:

experta in primo, stulta, cauere potes,

and III. 5. 14:

nudus at inferna, stulte, uehere rate.

At first sight it seems more probable that 'stulta' is sound than that 'Haec tibi' should be repeated from v. 25. But on second thoughts it is seen that 'stulta' is too heavy, too scornful a word for the poet to use of this incomparable lady in such a context. 'Forte' and 'stulta' are too unlike to be variants; so 'stulta' must be a gloss. And a gloss which indicates sympathy and a good understanding: for the force of this '*forte* putes' is that her humility is her one intellectual failing.

(9) III. 19. 11—16.

testis, Cretaei fastus quae passa iuuenci
induit abiegnae cornua falsa bouis;
testis Thessalico flagrans Salmonis Enipeo,
quae uoluit liquido tota subire deo:
[crimen] et illa fuit patria succensa senecta
arboris in frondes condita Myrrha nouae.

If a scholar with an ear for balanced composition heard these verses for the first time with 'crimen' of 15 omitted, he would judge from what precedes and from the *et illa* following that Propertius had written '*testis* et illa fuit.' 'Crimen' however stands in all MSS hitherto published.

c^3 has 'crimeo'; c^4 'cremeo'; c^1c^2 'cinarea.' Myrrha's father was Cinyras, and the gloss 'cinyrea' belonged presumably to 'patria.' From corruptions of this gloss such as those in c^3 and c^4 'crimen' has appeared in our texts instead of 'testis,' which I restore.

c^2 unsupported. As a pendant to these passages I add

(10) I. 15. 15—22.

nec sic Aesoniden rapientibus anxia uentis
Hypsipyle uacuo constitit in thalamo;
Hypsipyle nullos post illos sensit amores,
ut semel Haemonio tabuit hospitio.
coniugis Euadne miseros delata per ignes
occidit, Argiuae fama pudicitiae;
Alphesiboea suos ulta est pro coniuge fratres,
sanguinis et cari uincula rupit amor.

There are almost as many spellings of Hypsipyle as there are MSS, and they differ in each line: thus N has at 16 hysiphile and at 17 Hypsiphile.

The new light upon this passage is found only in c^2, which gives for 16,

Oethis uacuo constitit in thalamo.

This extraordinary and unsupported reading is capable, I think, of explanation. No one mentioned in this poem has any connection with Mt Oeta; it appears too far from 9 to be a corruption of Aeaeis (= Calypso). Its occurrence in a passage concerning Jason and Thessaly at once suggests that it is a corruption rather of *Aeetis* (= Medea): (cf. Catull. 64. 3: et fines Aeetaeos, where the MSS are divided between 'oeticos' and 'ceticos'). Hypsipyle herself, daughter of Thoas and a Lemnian, cannot have been explained by any such word as this 'oethis.'

At the same time Hypsipyle is certainly sound in 16: for Medea never saw Jason sail away. Medea's troubles only began when they left the ship and she found herself Creusa's guest in Thessaly. Haemonio tabuit hospitio.

I stand under correction and shall welcome any other attempt to solve the problem here stated, but at present I hold that Propertius wrote

nec sic Aesoniden rapientibus anxia uentis
Hypsipyle uacuo constitit in thalamo;
Aeetis nullos post illos sensit amores,
ut semel Haemonio tabuit hospitio.

Alternative spellings of Hypsipyle may have caused the loss of the second proper name and its subsequent insertion as a variant in the wrong place. Or Hypsipyle may simply have been repeated from the line above: repetition of first words is a mistake found particularly in C. By my conjecture 'Haemonio hospitio' bears its natural sense, instead of having to mean 'after *the loss of* her Thessalian guest.' Also 'illos amores' 'those historic loves' is better applied to Medea than to Hypsipyle, who was much less famous. Cf.

[et modo] Iasonia *nota est* Medea carina
et modo seruato sola relicta uiro.

[II. 24. 45, 46, see above.]

Finally, by my conjecture, this section of eight lines falls into four couplets, with a heroine to each, and the balance is thus improved. It results that, in my view, 'Oethis' is not a gloss after all, though it looks like one at first sight.

But we have quoted enough to show the way in which glosses have affected Ω and C and its copies. The instance from III. 19. 15 seems to prove conclusively that *all* the other traditions have accepted into the text (in a disguised form, it is true) a gloss which still remained undisguised in C. This suggests that the period at which the C tradition parted from the NF tradition was before the time of the distant common ancestor of the N and F MSS. C was itself probably glossed: the presumption from the words of c^4 discussed above (lustrabitur and recessu) is strong.

Fifteenth-century copyists.

Was C also covered with variants from NF sources? or why do the various copies occasionally desert C and give a reading known already for one unknown?

While this question is difficult to answer with certainty, my opinion at present is that C was not thus annotated—at least when c^1 was written. The most careful scrutiny of the full collation[1] of c^1 reveals no sign of any conscious conflation whatever. There are, it is true, a number of readings taken by c^2c^3 and c^4 from C which c^1 does not give. But it must be remembered that there is a presumption that c^1's owner and copier was a scholar; and the ordinary text was perhaps already known to him. He may once or twice, being but human, have drawn upon his memory or his imagination when the writing of C troubled him. At least there is no *distinctive* reading in c^1 from any other source but C.

c^2,, while it has a certain number of C's readings not in c^1 and gives no more outward sign of conscious conflation than

[1] I must plead for patience until all the collations are before the critics. They will then form their own conclusions on a perplexing point.

c^1, still does desert C rather often. I should conjecture that a MS of the common sort was beside the scribe of c^2 for reference and that he sometimes lazily preferred its reading to the less legible C. But what else could one expect of a scribe in the second half of the fifteenth century set to do a difficult job, without any scientific interest in textual criticism?

c^3 gives outward sign of being a conflation of C with a good MS of the NF type, but it contains the great majority of the peculiar C readings, and now and again, as I believe, fragments from C which the other copies miss. The chief outward sign beyond the very occasional variants in the margin is that alone of these C MSS it contains illuminated titles to the poems. The other three agree with N in giving no titles at all; they do not even name the poet nor invariably mark off the books.

Before the poem 'Hoc quodcumque uides' [= IV. 1] c^2c^4 make no sign whatever that another book has begun. But c^3 has

'propertii aurelii naute liber iii finit incipit iiii foeliciter.'

This '*finit*' shows that it procured its titles and variants from a text of northern origin. (See above.)

(μ has here 'prop. aur. naut. lib. tertius explicit incipit quartus.')

c^4, surely one of the meanest instruments of truth, gives sign now and again that its C tradition is crossed with a debased F tradition, perhaps derived eventually from F itself corrected. At II. 26. 39, where $c^1c^2c^3$ rightly have 'cum satis argo' for the 'ratis' of other MSS, (a reading due to '*litore* mille *rates*' in the preceding line), c^4 has 'cum rudis argus.' Here F has in the text 'cum ratis ergo,' and in the margin 'rudis argo' by the same or at least a contemporary hand. From this note, I fancy, 'rudis argus' comes into late MSS of the F family. At v. 50 of the same poem c^4 has 'refundit' for 'profudit.' F has 'profudit' corrected to 'refudit' by a fifteenth century hand. c^4 does not divide II. 10 [Sed tempus lustrare...] from II. 9: neither does F nor its descendants.

The evidence as here summarised leads one to suppose that

C was *not* annotated with variants from any other family—that most probably it had no variants by conflation or almost none. Therefore when the educated fifteenth century copyist was lazy or puzzled or dissatisfied he took a reading from whatever MS happened to be by him. Therefore the twentieth century critic has to take the sum of four copies (and would like more) to arrive at a reconstruction of the original.

Though these copies are not compilations in any sense (like V) recourse has been had in two and perhaps three cases to a vulgate text for reference. Is not this in itself an indication that C was for some reason difficult and tiresome to decipher?

Let me take one instance of what occurs.

III. 9. 48.

c^1.	ceum defrigreis oromodunta iugis.
c^2.	celum de flegreis horomodonta iugis.
c^3.	ceum & fregreis oromodunta iugis.
c^4.	coeum et flegreis oromadunta iugis.

There are many signs that C was in some cursive hand whose words ran together—*e.g.* II. 14. 7 'minois thesea' is in c^2 minoistea; II. 27. 7 'et obiectum' is in c^1 iobicetum (cp. 'defrigreis' above, for 'et flegreis'). The curves of the letters were perplexing, and almost any letter could be mistaken for another—*r* for *l*, *s* for *r* and for *t*; *n* for *r*, *p* for *f*, and *c*, *t*, *r*, *i*, *e* interchangeable as *a*, *o* and *u*. 'Nisee' becomes 'rasce' in c^1, 'undas' becomes 'itridas,' 'rupit' is 'riepit.' Once for 'omne' (at IV. 8. 30) c^2 has 'canna'!

But one could fill pages with such errors, and as many more with the various interpretations of compendia.

C probably an Irish manuscript.

N for *r*, *s* for *r*, *f* for *p* (and *vice versa*) are mistakes particularly easy for the unpractised eye in copying from *Irish* writing: particularly in Irish writing might '&' be mistaken for 'de.' The remarkable spellings mentioned above (pp. 176, 177), especially those involving 'ng,' are found frequently in Irish Latin, in which organic changes in the spoken sound cause the apparently barbaric contortions. The introduction of an *r* into

syllables containing an open *a* or *o* is a feature of Irish Latin from the end of the 7th to the 12th century. This is particularly noticeable in C: thus, sartis for satis, portus for potus, portat for potat.

The suggestion that C was an Irish MS came in the first instance from Mr J. H. Hessels, of St John's College, Cambridge, whose book *An eighth-century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* [Introd. pp. xx—xli] contains tabulated errors or changes of spelling, which (to my mind) convincingly establish the Irish origin of C. Its date will have been between 750 and 1150, or earlier than that of any MS of Propertius now known.

Further quotations from C. [c¹ unsupported.]

I give three more extracts from C, as curious as any that have preceded.

The first suggests, though it does not incontestably prove, that nearly one whole line recorded by the vulgate is an interpolation. c¹ is a negative witness.

(11) II. 17. 5—12.

uel tu Tantalea moueare ad flumina sorte,
ut liquor arenti fallat ab ore sitim,
uel tu Sisyphios licet admirere labores,
difficile ut toto monte uolutet onus.
durius in terris nihil est quod uiuat amante,
nec, modo si sapias, quod minus esse uelis.
quem modo felicem inuidia admirante ferebant,
nunc decimo admittor uix ego quoque die.

Two good critics will not admit both 'admirere' in 7 and 'admirante' in 11. Baehrens therefore gives his conjecture, 'a! miserere,' in 7: Postgate his, 'adridente' in 11 (for which Martial 5. 6. 5, 'sis inuidia *fauente* felix,' is not strong support).

There are two parallels to the caesura of 11, viz. 'accensae Hydriades' (I. 20. 45), and 'consimili inpositum' (III. 6. 39). But here there is the further elision before 'admirante.' If this verse is genuine, it is the worst verse in the whole of Propertius.

F has 'admirante inuidia.'

c^2 has 'infelicem.'

But c^1 has

quem modo si sapies quod minus esse uelis,
nunc decimo ammictor uix ego quoque die.

Remembering 'cinarea' become 'crimen' at III. 19. 15, perhaps we shall not be far wrong in ejecting all the words after 'modo' in 11 from the new text. They are more in the barbaric style than in Propertian, and might without difficulty have been invented by taking I. 18. 7, 8:

qui modo felices inter numerabar amantes,
nunc in amore tuo cogor habere notam,

and leavening with 'admirante' from above. ['Modo' repeated at the same point in consecutive lines has in my opinion caused the corruption of II. 24. 45, quoted above.]

I have quoted already unsupported readings of c^1. But in order to strengthen the last suggestion I give one of the best instances of its integrity.

(12) I. 16. 29, 30.

sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano,
sit licet et ferro durior et chalybe,
[non tamen illa suos poterit compescere ocellos.]

The apparent balance of the composition is not a true balance. The 'et ferro...et chalybe' of 30 need *two* hard *stones* for their contrast in 29. There is the '*et* saxo' showing that one of the two stones lies hid in 'sit licet.'

c^1 actually gives that word (which had occurred to me as a conjecture some time before).

c^1 has

sic *silice* et saxo patientior illa siccano,
sit licet et ferro durior et calibe.

The truth of the reading 'sit silice et' (against all other MSS) and the manner of the corruption seem to need no further demonstration.

c¹c²c³c⁴ taken together.

Now to my last passage, which I choose not because it is in any way more suggestive than a host of others but because I communicated it some time ago to a scholar whose praise I value above all men's and found that he praised my conclusion. I am therefore somewhat less diffident about it than about most of my suggestions hitherto. It is a familiar *crux*, III. 9. 16.

(13) gloria Lysippo est animosa effingere signa,
exactis Calamis se mihi iactat equis;
in Veneris tabula summam sibi poscit Apelles,
Parrhasius parua uindicat arte locum;
argumenta magis sunt Mentoris addita formae,
at Muos exiguum flectit acanthus iter;
Phidiacus signo se Juppiter ornat eburno,
Praxitelen propria uindicat urbe lapis.

In this passage Propertius is simply versifying the most elementary commonplaces of current art-criticism. He takes the list of artists then most admired and touches off in a single line the most popular masterpiece or characteristic of each. The line upon Pheidias has been most unjustly suspected. It puts into verse the well-known view of antiquity that Pheidias actually *increased* the prestige of Zeus by his marvellous conception, the view echoed in Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* XII. 10. 9) "Olympium in Elide Jovem...cuius pulchritudo *adiecisse aliquid* etiam receptae religioni uidetur; adeo maiestas operis deum aequauit." Cf. also "Schol. Gregor. Nazianz. in Catal. manuscript. qui a Clarke comparati in Bibl. Bodl. adseruantur p. 36 [I quote Overbeck] Φειδίας...τῷ μὲν Διὶ ξόανον ἤγειρεν ὡς ἐπονομασθῆναι Διὸς Φειδιακοῦ.

But as a pendant to this weighty line on Pheidias and his masterpiece we have only, if the text be sound,

Praxitelen propria uindicat urbe lapis.

Let us at once accept from Broukhusius the correction 'uenditat,' which is perhaps confirmed by the 'uendicat' of c²R. But that is a side issue. This line is bound to contain a definite reference to Praxiteles' acknowledged masterpiece. The balanced

composition of the passage is else destroyed completely. Only one statue of the ancient world was ever mentioned in the same breath with the Pheidiac Zeus and Athena, and this was the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles. ['Cnidia' for 'propria' was actually proposed by some Italian humanist.] To an erotic 'poseur' this would seem a climax even after Pheidias: but no *other* statue in the world. The emendation that hitherto has held the field is 'Paria' for 'propria' (also Broukhusius'). This is taken to mean not 'marble from the Parian city' but 'the marble statue at Parium on the Propontis'—involving an intolerable twist of the brain, for Praxiteles habitually worked in Parian, not Pentelic, marble, and the mention of the word at once suggests this peculiarity of his. But let us suppose that 'Paria' could mean this. Propertius will then have balanced against Pheidiac Zeus in the climax of the passage Praxiteles' statue (at Parium on the Propontis) of Eros. This is not even the most famous Eros made by Praxiteles: that at Thespiae with the daring gilt wings was his masterpiece of this subject.

The line as it stands in the vulgate is no less intolerable on artistic grounds. No work of world-wide fame by Praxiteles existed at Athens, his 'propria urbs.' That his masterpiece was mentioned is clear from the contrast of 'eburno' and 'lapis': the Jove was the greatest of all gold and ivory works—the greatest work of antiquity in marble was held to be... the Cnidian Aphrodite. Therefore this line

Praxitelen propria uenditat urbe lapis

must be emended so as to refer to Cnidos or Aphrodite.

I do not propose 'Cnidia,' though it is the only proposal hitherto which fulfils the conditions of sense and balance. I am satisfied that 'propria' hides some qualification of 'urbe' which will refer us to Cnidos. 'propria' is read by *all* NF MSS.

Now let us turn to C. c^3c^4 have '*proprio*': c^4 is so sure that 'proprio' is right, that it continues 'uindicat *orbe* lapis.' c^2 has 'p^{i}us' (= prorius).

c^1 has 'proprius' (*i.e.* pp^{i}us). [It was perhaps from C then that the Italian emenders took 'parius.'] But though

'proprius lapis' in another context might mean 'his marble masterpiece' 'urbe' here would then be intolerable. Besides, c^3c^4 have 'proprio.' C seems on this evidence to have had p^io^s (= prorios), with the 's' faint above the line: unless it here gave the two variants. Now 'prorios' or 'proprios' qualifying 'urbe' must hide a Greek proper name in the genitive case. In this same poem (at 37) we have for Thebes 'arcem Cadmi'; IV. 5. 23:

*Eurypylis*que placet Coae textura Mineruae

cites a much obscurer founder of a city opposite Cnidos. Do we know the founder of Cnidos? Certainly: he was Triopas or Triops. His city was once called Triopia. Cf. Plin. v. 29, Est in promontorio Cnidos libera, Triopia dein Pegusa et Stadia appellata. The promontory is called Τριόπιον in Thucydides VIII. 35 and 60. Scylax (p. 38) says it was ἀκρωτήριον ἱερόν. There were games held there at the temple of Apollo Triopius, presumably by the tomb of the hero-founder of the city. Stephanus of Byzantium says the city was called Τριόπιον. I therefore read,

Phidiacus signo se Juppiter ornat eburno,
Praxitelen Triopos uenditat urbe lapis.

Over the founder's name someone wrote the name of the city, Triopia, and this is the origin of the 'propria' of all MSS but C.

If my correction is plausible, I can only attribute the credit of it to C: for it had not occurred to me until I considered the 'o' and the 's' suggested by the C copies.

III.

Causa perorata est. I submit that there is good ground for believing that the MS I have called C once existed, and that in its corrupt but ancient tradition we shall possess one of the most weighty witnesses to the Propertian text.

Where was it found? what was its history? how was it that it made no more stir than it did?

As to the last question, I quote a sentence from A. C. Clark's admirably judicial article mentioned above (*C. R.* Vol. XXII. p. 179), written with reference to the concealment or loss of the 'Cena Trimalchionis' from 1423 till its rediscovery at Trau (in Paris. 7989).

'It seems strange that such an extraordinary document should not have attracted more attention at the time, but the Italian scholars judged not as the world judges.'

With reference to the second question I give the whole passage in Alessandro Alessandri referring to the discovery of Propertius. He is describing the scholarly discussion which arose at the house of 'Accius Syncerus,' a Neapolitan humanist like himself, upon a certain passage in Propertius. The poet's obscurities and the errors of his text are, says the host, due to the circumstances of his discovery.

"Jovianus Pontanus uir multae eruditionis antiquissimo firmabat testimonio Propertii elegias patrum nostrorum aetate et se adulescentulo primum in lucem prodiisse cum antea inscitia temporum incompertae forent et incognitae, opusque obliteratum et longissimo aeuo absumptum corrosis et labentibus litteris in cella uinaria sub doliis inuentum apparuisse et, cum libelli uetustate uerbis et nominibus absumptis longo situ et senio quod in diuturna obscuritate latuerant ueram lectionem assequi nequirent, effectum ut mendosi inde codices prodirent: paulatimque discuti errores et corrigi coepti sunt nec tamen effici quisse ut posteris omnino integri inoffensique darentur.

"Ad hunc modum Accius Syncerus noster scite admodum apud complusculos qui aderamus sermocinabatur itaque mendaces libellos deprehendebat erroresque diiudicabat ac perpenso iudicio uitia rimabatur." [Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dierum Genialium libri sex,* ed. Francofurti, 1591, p. 52, in fine.]

Alessandro is reporting the story as another scholar told it to him before witnesses: that other is himself telling it at second hand.

The only words he imputes to Pontano which cannot be quite accurate are these: *primum* in lucem prodiisse, *cum antea inscitia temporum incompertae forent et incognitae.* But even these are not very wide of the mark. So great a scholar

as Coluccio had never seen a Propertius till he procured a copy of Petrarch's after Petrarch's death (= F). Poggio would seem to have had but one copy of Propertius, which he had made for him about 1423. If Paris. 7989 be truly connected with his circle, as the presence in the same book of the 'Cena Trimalchionis' would seem to establish, it is probable enough that his Propertius was an F MS, which he emended. But his complaint that it was lost (though found again) suggests that copies of Propertius were hard to come by in 1423.

L, connected with Petrarch's copy, is of date 1421, and was written by a scribe from Campofregoso, near Genoa.

Otherwise there is no indication of Propertian MSS existing in Italy before 1440—1450, when c[1] was written. N by about 1450 was in Manetti's library at Naples. The whole mass of MSS known to me except NAFL and Paris. 7989 is subsequent in date to 1440. In 1446 Pontano was 20 years old (adulescentulus).

Pontano treated truth carelessly enough, and did not deceive his contemporaries. 'Pontanus, ex illo, *ut asserebat*, codice' is a note one finds in humanistic compilations on Tibullus. I do not therefore consider Alessandro[1] Alessandri's tale as sound evidence in itself. But if it could be established that a dislocated and somewhat illegible Irish MS, older than any other known, did actually make its appearance in Italy at about 1446, then, since Pontano does *not* offer to quote from it or in other ways to acquire merit for himself, it seems at the least a conceivable hypothesis that rumours of C reached him when a youth and were exaggerated by him at a later time. It does not matter that Bernardino Valla's codex was held to be the 'uetustissimus[2],' by Pucci in 1521. A book in Irish writing would not be preserved when copies were in circulation. 'Hibernici sunt: non leguntur' says the St Gallen catalogue of a number of such books which *we* should deem highly valuable. And this book was inconvenient to read by reason of dislocations also. In 40 years it might have completely disappeared again.

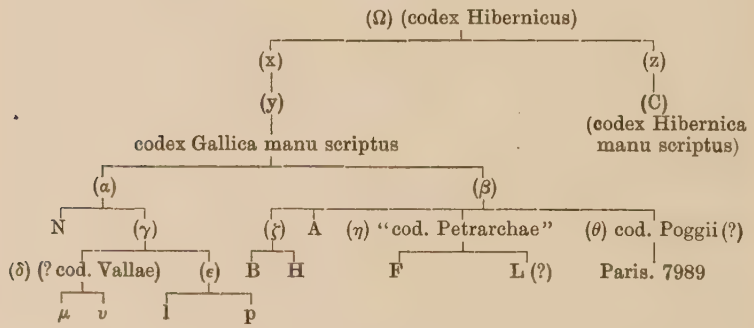
[1] Scaliger only quotes from Alessandro for the tale.

[2] Poliziano in 1485 calls it 'uetustus', not 'uetustissimus'.

Where was C found? I venture no opinion. It might have been at Bobbio: it might have been far to the north. The notary who found the 'papyrus' of Catullus 'sub modio clausa' in Belgium[1] may or may not have been a thief, who thus disguised his larceny. Pontano's reported words are 'in cella uinaria sub doliis inuentum.' He may be recollecting the picturesque detail of the *Catullus* legend; he may be consciously repeating a well-worn euphemism. For the purposes of textual criticism and reconstruction the *provenance* of C is of no moment whatever.

[1] G. B. Giuliari, *La Capitolare biblioteca di Verona*, p. 95. (Quoted by Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli* XIV. *e* XV. p. 1, footnote.)

Stemma codicum optimorum.



OLIFFE LEGH RICHMOND.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

ΑΤΑΚΤΑ. II.

Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33. 397 M.:—*τούτων Ὅμηρος μὲν σχεδὸν πάντα ἐνεκωμίασε...Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἦκε, τὸ ψέγειν.*

ἦκε looks very like an error for *ἦξε*, which would be the natural word in a context like the present, as the following instances will show:—

Lucian, *Demonax* 4, 379 R. *οὐ μὴν ἀνίπτοις γε ποσί... πρὸς ταῦτα ἦξεν.*

Theon, *Progymn.* 1, p. 146, W. *ἄττουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν.*

Diog. Laert. 6, 87 *ἆξαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν.*—10, 2 *ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἆξαι.*

Galen, *In Hippocr. Epidem.* t. 17. 1, 613 K. (= Hippocratis Opera 1, p. 247 Kuehl.):—*τὸ δὲ Π* [scil. *σημαίνειν βούλονται*] *πλῆθος ἢ πτύελον ἢ πυρὸν ἢ πυρετὸν ἢ πνεύμονος πάθος.*

This is part of Galen's account of the sigla found at the end of reports of cases in the MSS. of Hippocrates. *πυρὸν* is evidently corrupt; Littré supposes it to represent *πυρρὸν*, and translates it by *rouge*. It has occurred to me that the original reading may have been *πύον*, 'pus,' 'suppuration.'

Iamblichus, *Protr.* 21:—*ἀποδημῶν τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ἐπιστρέφου.*

The text stands thus even in the most recent edition, that of Pistelli. For *οἰκίας* one must surely restore *οἰκείας* (comp. HSt. 5, 1770 A), when one remembers the form in which the same precept appears in Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.* 6, 26 *ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἐὰν ἀποδημῇς μὴ ἐπιστρέφου.* In Greek, *ἀποδημεῖν*, 'to go away from home,' means to go away from one's country or *πόλις*, not from one's house; if the latter sense seems to be

found in Plato, *Laws* 954 b 4, it is through a mistake of interpretation, which I am sorry to see sanctioned by L. and S. The ellipse of *γῆ* in the formula *ἡ οἰκεία* is common enough in all Greek; it is duly recognized by Bos, and has been illustrated in our own time with a superabundance of instances by Kontos, *Athena* 3. 321. The same formula is found with a slight variation in Herod. 9. 117: *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες*.

I may perhaps be permitted to say a word on the reading of Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 7. 20 K.: *ὃς ἂν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ποιῇ πεντακόσια μέτρα*, where I long ago proposed to restore *γῆς οἰκείας*—a suggestion which has not been accepted, so far as I know, by any one of the many editors of the book. In normal Greek *ἡ οἰκεία* always means *patria*, 'one's country'; and in the vast array of passages collected by Kontos there is not one clear instance of it in the sense of an estate or piece of land of one's own. As to the possibility of the confusion of *τῆς* and *γῆς* (etc.), I need hardly say that it is one of the commonest phenomena in all MSS.—there are two instances of it in two consecutive lines of the Clarkianus of Plato (*Phaedr.* 257 a 1—2)—and that it is a kind of error one may always expect to meet with in a papyrus text.

Philostratus, *V. Apollonii* 6. 11:—*συνέστειλε* [scil. *Αἰσχύλος*] *τοὺς χόρους ἀποτάδην ὄντας*.

It is very difficult to see any sense in the last two words. I would suggest *ἀποτάδην ᾄδοντας*, and explain the loss of the missing letters as due to haplographia, *ἀποταδηνδοντας* having thus become *ἀποταδοντας*.

Plato, *Rep.* 342 b 7:—*καὶ σκόπει ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ· οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως ἔχει;*

It would be possible, and perhaps better, to change the punctuation here, putting a comma after *λόγῳ* and removing the mark of interrogation at the end, on the supposition that *πότερον* may be understood before *οὕτως*.

Plato, *Rep.* 360 b 4:—*οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο, ὡς δόξειεν, οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος, ὃς ἂν μείνειεν ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ κτέ.*

Adam's note on the construction here shows at any rate the great difficulty there is in explaining the mood in *δόξειεν*. It has occurred to me that the word may possibly have been altered from *δόξαι*, which was taken to be an optative. *ὡς δόξαι*, as an infinitive of limitation, is found later on, in *Rep.* 432 b 3, *ὥς γε οὕτωσὶ δόξαι*.

Plato, *Rep.* 360 c 1:—*τὴν δὲ κρίσιν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου περὶ ὧν λέγομεν, ἐὰν διαστησώμεθα τόν τε δικαιότατον καὶ τὸν ἀδικώτατον, οἷοί τ' ἐσόμεθα κρῖναι ὀρθῶς*.

Adam, who formerly preferred to read *αὖ τὴν*, defends *αὐτὴν* as opposing the third division of Glaucon's speech to the other two, and marking it as the most important. My own suspicion is that *αὐτὴν* is an error for *αὐτοῖν*, 'the two men themselves'; and it is to be observed, as some confirmation of it, that we have a dual in the parallel in 360 d 5, *εἰς τὴν κρίσιν...τοῖν ἀνδροῖν*.

Plato, *Rep.* 363 a 4:—*ὅσαπερ Γλαύκων διῆλθεν ἄρτι, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐδοκιμεῖν ὄντα τῷ δικαίῳ*.

The recent editors agree in retaining *τῷ δικαίῳ*, the reading of the good MSS., and Adam has a long note in explanation of it. But as the reference is to 362 b 2, I still think that the sense requires *τῷ ἀδίκῳ* (which is found in certain of the corrected copies), or something equivalent. *τῷ <μὴ> δικαίῳ* would give the required sense. I need not say that negatives are very liable to omission in MSS., and that in the *Republic* a *μή* has been omitted in A in 395 c 7 and in 454 b 4.

Plato, *Rep.* 365 a 6:—*τί οἰόμεθα ἀκουούσας νέων ψυχὰς ποιεῖν, ὅσοι εὐφυεῖς κτέ*.

Perhaps *τί <ἂν> οἰόμεθα*, so as to make the words mean, 'What effect do we suppose they will have on the minds of the young?' It is to be noted that, in the context that follows, the effect is expressed by the potential optative, *λέγοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἐκεῖνο κτέ*.

Plato, *Rep.* 377 b 1:—*μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται, καὶ ἐνδύεται τύπος ὃν ἄν τις βούληται ἐνσημήνασθαι ἑκάστῳ*.

The worst that can be said of this passage is that Plato has

been guilty of a fault of style, which is not absolutely unparalleled in the *Republic*. The youthful mind is first conceived as wax to be moulded into shape, and then as wax that may receive the impression of a stamp or seal—which is not quite the same thing.

Mr Herbert Richards' conjecture, *ἐνδύεται τύπον*, accepted by Adam, seems to me not only unnecessary but also improbable. I take it that in normal Greek the *ἐνδύεσθαι* which we represent by our English 'put on,' as said of clothes, armour, or the like, means properly to 'get into' one's clothes, etc.; and in the various metaphorical applications of the word the idea of getting into something that covers you is always more or less directly implied. But a stamp or impression (*τύπος*) is not a garment or anything even remotely analogous to a garment; and one cannot be said to get into it. If Plato had wished on second thoughts to avoid the change of subject in this passage, he would have said, I think, *δέχεται τύπον* rather than *ἐνδύεται τύπον*.

Plato, *Rep.* 380 a 5:—*ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ποιῇ ἐν οἷς ταῦτα τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ἔνεστιν, τὰ τῆς Νιόβης πάθη, ἢ τὰ Πελοπιδῶν ἢ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἤ τι ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ οὐ θεοῦ ἔργα ἐατέον αὐτὰ λέγειν, ἢ εἰ θεοῦ κτέ.*

The difficulty here was pointed out by Prof. A. Platt, in the Class. Rev. 3, p. 73, who proposed to bracket the whole clause *ἐν οἷς ταῦτα τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ἔνεστιν*. It seems to me that we need not do more than bracket *τὰ ἰαμβεῖα*, as an adscript due to a reader who did not see that *ταῦτα* is introductory to the enumeration of incidents that follows, *τὰ τῆς Νιόβης πάθη κτέ*.

Plato, *Rep.* 380 d 5:—*ἢ ἁπλοῦν τε εἶναι* [scil. *οἴει*] *καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἰδέας ἐκβαίνειν;*

We should perhaps restore *ἥκιστ' <ἂν>*, so as to assimilate the form of statement to that in the parallel in 381 b 6 *ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ ἥκιστα ἂν πολλὰς μορφὰς ἴσχοι ὁ θεός*. The clause will then be a sort of corollary to what precedes in the context. The particle seems to have dropped out in several places in the

Rep., e.g. in 442 e 7, *τίν' ἂν οἴει οἰηθῆναι τοῦτον αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι*—where *τοῦτον <ἂν> αὐτὸ* seems to be required by the sense.

Plato, *Rep.* 401 e 4:—*καὶ ὀρθῶς δὴ δυσχεραίνων τὰ μὲν καλὰ ἐπαινοῖ καὶ χαίρων καὶ καταδεχόμενος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τρέφοιτ' ἂν ἀπ' αὐτῶν...τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ ψέγοι τ' ἂν ὀρθῶς καὶ μισοῖ.*

Though the two recent editors accept the text as it stands in the MSS., the reference in Aristotle, *Eth. N.* 2. 2, 1102 b 11 *διὸ δεῖ ἦχθαί πως εὐθὺς ἐκ νέων, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησίν, ὥστε χαίρειν τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι οἷς δεῖ*, is to my mind quite sufficient to justify the view of Vermehren that *καὶ χαίρων* is out of place. I suspect that it came in originally *after* *δυσχεραίνων*, and was omitted through its resemblance to the last syllables of that word. With this emendation of text, Plato begins with the negative idea of disapproval (*δυσχεραίνων*), which is directly suggested by the preceding context, and then remembering the opposite possibility, that of approval, passes on to that by adding *καὶ χαίρων*. What follows, works out the two ideas in chiastic or inverted order, the second being considered first, and the first second. I observe that Adam finds in *καταδεχόμενος* a suggestion 'that beauty is an exile coming home again.' In a context like the present (*τρέφοιτ' ἂν ἀπ' αὐτῶν*) the word must surely be regarded as a metaphor from the taking in of nutriment—the sense it has in *Tim.* 84 b 5 *ὅταν ὀστοῦν... μήτε τὴν τροφὴν καταδέχηται.*

Plato, *Rep.* 405 b 1:—*ἢ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας μέγα τεκμήριον τὸ ἐπάκτῳ παρ' ἄλλων...τῷ δικαίῳ ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπορίᾳ οἰκείων;*

καὶ ἀπορίᾳ, though accepted by Prof. Burnet and defended by Adam, has been questioned by both Ast and Madvig. I suspect that *ἀπορί*ΑΙ represents an older *ἀπορι*Ν, i.e. *ἀπορεῖν*—the opposite of *εὐπορεῖν*.

Plato, *Rep.* 415 d 6:—*καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἕξει ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸ ἡ φήμη ἀγάγῃ.*

ἕξει was questioned long ago by Ast, who suggested *ἥξει* in lieu of it. It is usually taken as an instance of the use of

ἔχειν with an adverb in the sense of being in a certain state or condition. The context, however, does not seem to imply an idea of that kind, but rather one of line or direction. The general form of expression in fact is not unlike that in *Rep.* 394 d 8 ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πνεῦμα φέρῃ, ταύτῃ ἰτέον, and in *Laws* 667 a 9 ὁ λόγος ὅπῃ φέρει, ταύτῃ πορευώμεθα. With these parallels before one, one may perhaps suppose Plato to have written here not ἕξει but ἕξεισιν, and also ἄγῃ rather than ἀγάγῃ.

Plato, *Rep.* 436 e 4:—καὶ ὅταν δὲ τὴν εὐθυωρίαν ἢ εἰς δεξιὰν ἢ εἰς ἀριστερὰν ἢ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν ἐγκλίνῃ ἅμα περιφερόμενον, τότε οὐδαμῇ ἔστιν ἑστάναι.

The point under consideration here is how tops and the like can be said to stand and to be in motion at one and the same time. The subject is throughout regarded as in the plural (comp. ἑαυτῶν, μενόντων, αὐτὰ, ἐν αὑτοῖς) until we come to the περιφερόμενον at the end of the sentence. I would suggest that περιφερόμενον is either a corruption of περιφερόμενα (due perhaps to the singular in ἐγκλίνῃ), or an ordinary scribal error for περιφερομένων, a genitive absolute in lieu of a nominative. ἔστιν, which seems to have been omitted by Galen, is bracketed by Prof. Burnet. I am inclined to think that it may be a miswriting of ἔτι. Similarly in Plutarch, *Mor.* 1081 D, the οὐκ ἔστι of the MSS. was corrected by Wyttenbach into οὐκέτι.

Plato, *Rep.* 439 a 1:—τὸ δὲ δὴ δίψος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐ τούτων θήσεις τῶν τινὸς εἶναι τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστίν;

The long note in Adam's Appendices (1, p. 270) will give some idea not only of the difficulty of this passage but also of the hopelessness of the many attempts that have been made to correct the text. At the risk of adding one more to the long list of failures I venture to suggest that the fault is merely in the τῶν before τινὸς, and that we should restore τῷ in place of it, so as to make the construction like that in 441 d 8 ἐκείνη γε τῷ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον <τῶν> ἐν αὐτῇ πράττειν...δικαία ἦν. The τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστίν, which has been by some regarded as an emblema, is sufficiently certified by the very similar account of these relational words in Aristotle, *Cat.* 7, 6 a 36 πρός τι

δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεται, ὅσα αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἑτέρων εἶναι λέγεται, ἢ ὁπωσοῦν ἄλλως πρὸς ἕτερον, οἷον τὸ μεῖζον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑτέρου λέγεται· καὶ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑτέρου λέγεται· τινὸς γὰρ διπλάσιον λέγεται. Compare also *Metaph.* 4. 15, 1021 a 26 τὰ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ δύναμιν λεγόμενα πρός τι πάντα ἐστὶ πρός τι τῷ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄλλου λέγεσθαι αὐτὸ ὅ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ ἄλλο πρὸς ἐκεῖνο.

Plato, *Rep.* 439 e 6:—ἀλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ποτὲ ἀκούσας τι πιστεύω τούτῳ, ὡς ἄρα Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀγλαΐωνος ἀνιὼν κτέ.

I think we should probably read here ἔτι, for τι (with Madvig), and also τοῦτο instead of τούτῳ. In *Gorg.* 524 a 8 we have ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἃ ἐγὼ ἀκηκοὼς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι—where Plato might very well have said ἃ ἐγώ ποτε ἀκούσας ἔτι πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι, if he had wished to note the time that had elapsed since the story was originally told. For the τοῦτο one may compare *Phaedrus* 243 e 2 τοῦτο μὲν πιστεύω, ἕωσπερ ἂν ᾖς ὃς εἶ, and Aristotle, *Meteor.* 1. 6, 343 b 10 καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ μόνον Αἰγυπτίοις πιστεῦσαι δεῖ, καίτοι κἀκεῖνοί φασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐφεωράκαμεν.

Plato, *Rep.* 441 b 3:—πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὃ ἄνω που ἐκεῖ εἴπομεν, τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου μαρτυρήσει, τὸ κτέ.

ἐκεῖ, which was perhaps omitted by Galen, is bracketed by Prof. Burnet. It has occurred to me that it may be out of place, and represent ἐκεῖνο; in which case it may be permissible to restore <ἐκεῖνο> τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου. We find ἐκεῖνο used in the same way in a very similar context in 365 b 1, λέγοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἐκεῖνο τὸ Πότερον δίκᾳ τεῖχος ὕψιον κτέ.

Plato, *Rep.* 441 d 8:—ἐκείνη γε τῷ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον ἐν αὐτῇ πράττειν τριῶν ὄντων γενῶν δικαία ἦν.

I would suggest <τῶν> ἐν αὐτῇ, and take the τριῶν ὄντων γενῶν which follows as appositional. In the immediate context (e 1) Plato uses the same expression, ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ.

Plato, *Rep.* 581 d 10:—τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον...τί οἰώμεθα τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς νομίζειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ εἰδέναι τἀληθὲς ὅπῃ ἔχει

καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἀεὶ εἶναι μανθάνοντα; τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πάνυ πόρρω;

τῆς ἡδονῆς, which Prof. Burnet brackets, seems to have been marked for deletion by the corrector of A. It will be possible to keep it by restoring *τῆς ἡδονῆς <ἐκείνης>*, on the assumption that *ἐκείνης* was lost through the homoeoteleuton.

Plato, *Rep.* 615 d 2:—*ἔφη οὖν τὸν ἐρωτώμενον εἰπεῖν, "Οὐχ ἥκει," φάναι, "οὐδ' ἂν ἥξει δεῦρο. ἐθεασάμεθα γὰρ οὖν" κτέ.*

The construction in *οὐδ' ἂν ἥξει* has long been recognized as a difficulty, though the two most recent editors of the *Republic* agree in allowing the words to stand in the text. It seems to me that *ἂν ἥξει* originated in a simple misreading of *ἀνήξει*—a suggestion which has been anticipated by Professor Henry Jackson[1] (*J. of Phil.* IV. 148), and also by Herwerden. The change is so slight and also so obvious that I suppose it must have occurred to many, and have been rejected for some reason which I have not been able to divine. The context swarms with compounds of this kind—verbs implying ascent from or descent to a lower region (*ἀνιέναι...καταβαίνειν*, 614 d 6, 7; *ἀνιέναι* 615 d 5; *ἀναβήσεσθαι* 615 e 1; *ἀνιέναι* 615 e 4; *ἀναβαίνοι...ἀναβῆναι* 616 a 7).

Plato, *Laws* 817 b 2:—*ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τραγῳδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι καλλίστης ἅμα καὶ ἀρίστης· πᾶσα οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ δή φαμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.*

One would expect rather *πᾶσα γοῦν*—which would make the second clause a modest confirmation of the truth of the first statement.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 165 D:—*ὁ δὲ θεοὺς δεδιὼς πάντα δέδιε, γῆν θάλατταν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν σκότος φῶς κληδόνα σιωπὴν ὄνειρον.*

Read *<ὕπαρ> ὄνειρον*, to complete the pairs of opposites in the enumeration.

[1] I am sorry to say that in a note in Vol. XXVIII. 344 correcting the text of Aristot. *Metaph.* A. 1, 981 a 5 I overlooked the fact that the same correction had been already proposed by my old friend in an early volume (VI. 206) of this Journal.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 169 A :—*δεινὸν τὸ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας σκότος ἐμπεσόντος ἀνθρώπου συγχέαι καὶ τυφλῶσαι λογισμόν κτέ.*

Bernardakis, the most recent editor of the *Moralia*, has altered *ἐμπεσόντος* into *ἐκπεσόντος*. The right word is surely *ἐμπεσὸν*, the -ΤΟΣ having been added through the influence of the termination of the *σκότος* that precedes it.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 359 B :—*τοὺς ἱερεῖς διαβαίνοντας ἐναγίζειν καὶ καταστέφειν τὸ σῆμα μηθίδης φυτῷ περισκιαζόμενον ὑπεραίροντι πάσης ἐλαίας μέγεθος.*

μηθίδης is clearly corrupt, but it is very difficult to imagine what it represents. I have thought of *μυρτίνης* as a not unlikely word. *μυρτίνη* is explained both by Hesychius and the Scholiast on Nicander *Alex.* 88 as meaning a kind of olive.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 657 A :—*ὁμοίως ἴδοις ἂν καὶ τὸν οἶνον, ὅταν σφόδρα ταράξῃ καὶ παροξύνῃ τὸ ἀκμαῖον καὶ θυμοειδές, αὖθις καταδύνοντα καὶ καθιστάντα τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς πορρωτέρω μέθης προϊοῦσαν ἡσυχάζειν.*

Perhaps *καταλύοντα* or *καταπραΰνοντα*, with a comma after it to show that its object is *τὸ ἀκμαῖον καὶ θυμοειδές*.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 747 E :—*ἐν ὀρχήσει τὸ μὲν σχῆμα μιμητικόν ἐστι μορφῆς καὶ ἰδέας, καὶ πάλιν ἡ φορὰ πάθους τινὸς ἐμφαντικὸν ἢ πράξεως ἢ δυνάμεως· ταῖς δὲ δείξεσι κυρίως αὐτὰ δηλοῦσι τὰ πράγματα, τὴν γῆν, τὸν οὐρανόν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς πλησίον.*

Perhaps rather, *αὐτούς, τοὺς πλησίον.*

Quintilian, *Inst.* 1. 5. 7 :—barbarismum plurimis modis accipimus. unum gente, quale est si quis afrum vel hispanum latinae orationi nomen inserat . . . alterum genus barbarismi accipimus, quod fit animi natura.

Read *genus* for *gente*. The *est* after *quale* is Halm's correction of the reading of the good MSS. *sit*—which surely represents *fit*, as one of the 15th century correctors saw.

Pseudo-Sergius, in Keil's *Gram. Lat.* 4. 531 :—Ammonius Alexandrius, qui Aristarchi scholae successit, *ὀξύβαρυν* vocat,

Ephorus autem Cymaeus *περίσπασιν*, Dionysius Olympius *δίτονον*.

This is part of a survey of the various names given to the circumflex accent in antiquity. It is not easy to explain the appellative *Olympius* attached to this particular Dionysius. It has occurred to me that it may be a mistake for *Olynthius*—more especially as there was a certain Διονύσιος Ὀλύνθιος, who is mentioned by Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* c. 31, as one of the early writers on Homer.

I. BYWATER.

DICTYS OF CRETE AND HOMER.

WHAT went before Homer? What preceded the Iliad and Odyssey? That Homer made them 'out of his head,' as Keats made 'Endymion' no one supposes. The nature of the contents of the poems, fabulous and historical, mythological and geographical, shows beyond doubt that the two poems (and in a less degree the poems of the Cycle also) are the result of the treatment of materials. I wish to ask what these materials were; for until we obtain a more or less definite conception of them, it is hopeless to conjecture in what Homer's treatment of them consisted, and more hopeless still to distinguish Homer's work from that of persons who may have succeeded him.

The data are: a parte posteriori, the two poems as we have them of 15,693 and 12,110 lines; a parte priori the picture given in the Odyssey of the recitations in vogue in the heroic age. The problem consists in bridging this gap, and discovering the process by which two episodes in the story which we see being sung at Ithaca or Phaeacia were selected and developed to form the Iliad and the Odyssey.

I propose first to set out, as of most importance, the evidence for the heroic period; then the view taken by the Greeks themselves; thirdly to bring the evidence of Dictys of Crete to bear upon the question[1].

[1] This article at an earlier stage had the advantage of being read by Mr Andrew Lang, and has materially benefited. I think it proper however to state that even as it now stands it does not meet with Mr Lang's approval.

I.

The Iliad, a poem of camps, has no place for the bard. Agamemnon who had one, and likewise Ulysses, left him at home. The accomplished Achilles soothed his acheing heart by singing tales of bygone men, *ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν*; and his taste for history he derived from his father Peleus, who knew everyone's descent (H 128 *πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεήν τε τόκον τε*) and was the first known genealogist. This was one of the graces of this *preux chevalier*; the ordinary diotrephes, like the average medieval baron, did not touch the harp; his music was provided for him by his servant the *ἀοιδός*. The Odyssey, a poem which deals with people at their ease at home, supplies many instances of the professional bard at work. Thus *a* 325, in Ulysses' house in Ithaca, a bard sang the return of the Achaeans from Troy:

> *τοῖσι δ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ*
> *εἵατ' ἀκούοντες, ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδε*
> *λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.*

The audience listen in silence, and Penelope hearing the sound comes down into the hall and begs Phemius not to choose this particular theme;

> 337 *Φήμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας,*
> *ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί,*
> *τῶν ἕν γέ σφιν ἄειδε παρήμενος, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ*
> *οἶνον πινόντων· ταύτης δ' ἀποπαύε' ἀοιδῆς.*

Telemachus takes up the minstrel's defence, and says if he sings the Achaeans' return it is to please his public which likes the newest song;

> 350 *τούτῳ δ' οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀείδειν*
> *τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι*
> *ἥτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.*

Phemius therefore had a stock of history human and divine and his profession entailed continual addition to his répertoire. We see further how quickly events become history; before the

νόστος Ἀχαιῶν was complete and within ten years after the fall of Troy, it was so to speak in circulation. The bards had it, and it was demanded as the latest thing. The nostoi of all the heroes, says Telemachus γ 86 were now known, except his father's.

When the poet takes us to Scheria and the court of Alcinous, we find Phemius' colleague the blind Demodocus. During the entertainment, whether in ordinary course or specially for Ulysses' honour Demodocus performs the following 'pieces':

θ 73 the quarrel of Ulysses and Achilles;

> *Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν*
> *οἵμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανεν,*
> *νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλῆος.*

The Muse inspired him to take the theme (*οἵμη*) then so much in vogue, a circumstance of the later Tale of Troy, not included in our extant Iliad. Next in the *ἀγών* θ 256 sq. we find as one number a sort of 'hymn' as it would have been called in later times, that is a hundred lines upon the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. At the next banquet 487 sq. Demodocus returns to history. The stranger Ulysses suggests a topic:

487 *Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δή σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἁπάντων,*
ἢ σέγε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς πάις, ἢ σέγ' Ἀπόλλων.
λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις,
ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,
ὥς τε που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας.
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ.

He pays him a gracious compliment upon the exactitude of his previous recitation and begs him to take another moment in the tale. Evidently Demodocus could 'have obliged' wherever he was put on in the subject, for

499 *ὣς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδὴν*
ἔνθεν ἑλὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐυσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν
βάντες ἀπέπλειον—

He had only to collect himself and start at any point. And

the company, not only Ulysses, repeatedly called upon him, θ 90, 91. So by the time that Ulysses was nearing his home the *οἶτος Ἀχαιῶν* was common knowledge and the best incidents in it were demanded at dinners and known by heart by the bards. The general idea of the poet as a story-teller is given λ 368, where Alcinous praises Ulysses because

μῦθον δ' ὡς ὅ τ' ἀοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας.

He produces the same effect upon a smaller audience, Eumaeus and his men ρ 318; the object of public curiosity is represented by Aeolus' question κ 15

Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν.

On the same ground the Sirens, whom we think of as sweet singers, ask Ulysses to stop, that they have the news,

μ 189 *ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ*
Ἀργεῖοι Τρῶές τε θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν.

According then to the statements of the Odyssey, bards performed professionally at kings' boards, and to entrance and inform the banqueters when their hunger was satisfied. In later days *αὐλητρίδες* and sword-swallowers facilitated digestion, or the company sang catches, asked each other conundrums or subjected their children to oral examination. In the heroic age they liked to be told the news, and failing that would put up with ancient history. At the moment of the Odyssey the subjects asked for and listened to were the last great events of contemporary history, the siege of Troy and the return of the Greek sovereigns. The audience could ask the bard to begin this tale at any moment, the whole series was in the bardic memory. In other words a body of verse was extant, deposited in the heads of a professional class (*δημιοεργοί* ρ 333), who invoke, as they well may, Mnemosyne (*ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὡς πάντ' ἀγορεῦσαι*). They were perhaps assisted by books, but Homer does not divulge these professional secrets. When also we see that Achilles, himself an actor in the Tale of Troy, possessed 'stories of men,' we conclude that the stock of heroic poetry consisted (besides theology) of past history, and vice versa that the salient and greater feats of past history

were extant in verse and remained till aftertimes. No one will object to see such verse-chronicle in the various παρεκβάσεις of the Iliad—the wars between the Pylians and Arcadians, Pylians and Eleans, the clearing of the hairy men out of Pelion by the Lapithae, the story of Meleager.

This picture, which it should be observed, comes from a professional source, represents the heroic bards as sources of past and present information; and information about the past and present as in their hands. When accidentally a portion of it is sung to an actor in the tale, he is made to praise its accuracy and vividness. We draw what seems to me an unforced and natural conclusion that the bards, children of Memory, had in their hands a chronicle, to give it no more questionable name. This chronicle will have contained the feats (military, for an early people has no other) of the nation in the foreground,—in the case of the Achaean period the two joint wars—one internal, against Thebes; the other, oversea, against Asiatic Troy. It contained also recollections, on the way to fading of earlier feats and events.

A general confirmation of this statement is to be found in the character of the Iliad. Among much that is romantic and divine, the political and geographical setting is remarkably historical. While this is true of the poem generally it is especially so of the Catalogue. I hope to treat this document at length in a future number of the Journal of Hellenic Studies, and will anticipate my conclusion here. The διάκοσμος is the oldest Greek document; its outlook is entirely prae-Dorian. Its details of place and race, from Dulichium (Leucas) to the Halizones or Hittites are historical, and an accurate picture of the state of Greece, and of Greek knowledge of Asia, in the heroic age. Much, if not all of my statement will I think be generally admitted. This document is a specimen—a specimen preserved owing to its importance with peculiar care—of the heroic chronicle at large. It is a survival from the whole story which told the War and its Nostoi from the beginning to the end. Personal anecdotes have been added to it, but the details are those of the vanished prae-Dorian age, and suit no other. The deeds of the army of which it is the list were narrated in

the same way and by the same means. They lie before us however in episodes and poems, not in chronicle.

II.

In the Greek view of Homer he was the successor of a considerable line of poets. Polybius (XII. 25. i.) took him for a type of history δι' ὑπομνημάτων. As Timaeus settled at Athens for fifty years πρὸς τοῖς τῶν προγεγονότων ὑπομνήμασι γενόμενος (25 d.), so apparently Homer collected the works of his predecessors and built his poems out of them, and that without much addition (XXXIV. 2. 9 = Strabo 23). If Polybius had been asked what Homer's materials were, he would presumably have mentioned some of the many earlier poets whose names may be collected from the anecdotists: Corinnus of Ilium, Dares of Phrygia, Eumolpus, Helen daughter of Musaeus, Melesandrus of Miletus, Oeagrus, Oroebantius of Troezen, Phantasia, Phemonoe who invented the hexameter, and more[1]. Demetrius of Phalerum exhibits a catalogue of bards from the heroic age downwards: those whom he does not draw from Homer (e.g. Phemius) are Automedes of Mycenae, Perimedes of Argos, Licymnius of Bouprasus, Sinis, Dorieus, Pharidas, Probolos of Sparta[2]. They are all Peloponnesian. (These antiquarians do not, as we should expect, regard Helicon and Pieria as homes of the heroic Muse. In so far they were right. Δώριον in the south of Nestor's kingdom of Pylos is the only known heroic 'centre.') The later writers, whether Pausanias or the Fathers, insist with one accord that Homer 'followed' or 'copied' Orpheus or Musaeus[3]. Herodotus' well-known remark (II. 53 οἱ

[1] Corinnus, Eumolpus: Suidas in vv. Dares, Helen, Phantasia the Memphite: Ptol. Heph. 147 sq. Dares, Melesandrus, Oeagrus, Oroebantius: Aelian V. H. XI. 2, XIV. 21. Phemonoe: Paus. X. 7, Clem. Alex. *strom.* I. 21, Proclus Chrestom. init. Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Musaeus, Orpheus, Demodocus, Phemius, the Sibyl, Epimenides, Aristaeus, Asbolus the centaur, Isatis, Drymon, Euclus, Horus, Pronapides: Tatian *adv. graecos* 41 (several of this series occur elsewhere). Dares: Antipater of Acanthus ap. Ptol. Heph. 147 a 26. Hesiod, Orpheus, Musaeus, Pamphos: Philostr. Heroicus 301.

[2] Schol. γ 267 with Timolaus ibid. The latter is no doubt Suidas' man in v., a Larissean disciple of Anaximenes, who ποιητικῶς ἔχων, doubled the Iliad καὶ ἐπέγραψε τὸ σύνταγμα Τρωικόν.

[3] E.g. Clem. Alex. *strom.* II. 173,

δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν [Homer and Hesiod] ὕστερον ἔμοιγε δοκέειν ἐγένοντο) is vague in its bearing, but appears to show that the logographers of the fifth century held that the two great epic poets had predecessors, an opinion clearly held by Hippias, the sophist (ap. Clem. Alex. II. 228).

This expression the ancients gave to their belief that Homer was not original (other simpler critics, it should be said made him an eyewitness of the Trojan and even of the Theban war). They thought he came at the end of a considerable line of poets and reciters who treated the Tale of Troy. We have no evidence whereby to test these traditions. The fragments or poems extant under these old names, Orpheus and Musaeus, are in late Epic Greek, and can of course make no claim to antiquity. In many cases the ancients mistook this pinchbeck for gold: the plainness of the later poems even gave them an air of venerability. Pausanias who had the Homeric and the Orphic hymns before him thinks the latter the more genuine. Style shews the lateness of the actual verses by Orpheus and Musaeus[1], but it does not prevent the existence at a much

212, 213, 241. A view that heroic poetry started from oracles, or copied them, is given in Diod. IV. 66, Athenag. 18 A, Justin III. 62, Philostr. Heroic. 287.

[1] This consideration I may say tells against Professor Murray's adroit utilisation (*Rise of the Greek Epic* p. 276) of the Berlin Orphic papyrus (*Berliner Klassikertexte* v. 1) as a support of his general thesis that heroic epos was purified from century to century to suit changes in manners. I said in my review (C. R. XXI. 99) 'the original legend was filtered and chastened by the Homeric writer,' as I believe the Trojan chronicle was chastened by Homer. Mr Murray will have it that the actual extant hymn underwent expurgation. The verses quoted in the papyrus are all but identical with the Homeric hymn, and where they differ are in the same style; the contrast is all the clearer between the hymn and the verses quoted, by Clement and other late authorities (Orphica ed. Abel fr. 209 sq.), from a poem with which the papyrus-verses according to the editors were one. These fragments are clearly not in seventh-century Greek, and no one will suppose that the hymn once began μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Δημητέρος ἀγλαοκάρπου. The Orphic poem, whether its title was Κόρης ἁρπαγή or another, will have contained the primitive esoteric legend couched in hymnological Greek of the period, together with suitable bits plundered from the Homeric poet—and here reproduced for their sonorous value by the papyrus-author. The difference in style between Homer and Orpheus is noted by Pausanias IX. 30. 12 and Philostratus Heroic. 300, but they do not draw the inference.

If the papyrus-verses do not belong to the Κόρης ἁρπαγή, the evidence from

earlier period of poems going under these and other names which stood as sources to Homer and the Cycle.

So far we see that the evidence of the Homeric poems suggests a verse-chronicle covering the Trojan war in existence in the heroic age; Greek tradition believed in a series of poems, and a long line of poets. The two views are of course not incompatible; in fact, arguing on generalities, we are inclined to ask whether it is more probable that the supposed verse-chronicle should have survived as such till Homer took it in hand, or that a number of poets should have done so before him on a smaller scale and with less talent. All we can say for certain is, that something, verse-chronicle or separate poems, was in existence and served as the basis of the Cycle during the period of Cycle-composition from 744 down to 600, when Eugammon closed the series with his Telegonia, which according to Clement was drawn as to the Thesprotian part from Musaeus.

III.

Whatever Homer used he obliterated it. Like Zeus he put away his predecessors. As far back as we can trace the Iliad, it makes law and is Greek history. For the events contained in the Quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles, and for all the events which it pleased him to mention, Homer's authority is unique and final. There is only one exception to this rule, the account of the Trojan war which we find in Dictys of Crete.

Dictys has been brought into notice of late by Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's discovery of a fragment of the Greek original (Tebtunis Papyri 1907 vol. II. 9 sqq., cf. W. Ihm Hermes 1909,

the language of the Orphic fragments falls, and we are left with a new set of data. The verses quoted by the papyrus-writer coincide absolutely or nearly with those of the Homeric hymn; they relate to non-esoteric matters; the esoteric or gross parts of the story are given in prose. These facts suggest either of two conclusions: first, the Orphic poem contained esoteric doctrine in verses of its own *cru*, appropriating Homer's lines where they were compatible (which gives us much the same situation): or there was no Orphic poem at all, and the prose writer conveyed lines that suited his purpose from the Hymn and marked them with the sacred names. That this in general was the procedure of the religious cannot be denied.

1 sqq.). Otherwise Dictys exists in a Latin version (ed. Meister 1872) faithful as far as book 5, the last four books are epitomised into one[1]. Those who denied a Greek Dictys are somewhat in the position of Timaeus, who having doubted the historicity of Phalaris' bull *ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τύχης ἠλέγχθη* (it was found at Carthage by Scipio Diod. XIII. 90) The story of the discovery of Dictys, told in Latin in the extant work and in Greek presumably from the original, by Suidas in v. (*Δίκτυς· ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθείσης καὶ πολλῶν τάφων ἀνεῳχθέντων, εὑρέθη ἐν ἑνὶ τούτων τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς ἱστορίας Δίκτυος τὸν Τρωικὸν περιέχον πόλεμον, ὅπερ λαβὼν Κλαύδιος ἐξέδωκε γράφεσθαι*) belongs at all points to the category of literary romance. Acusilaus' genealogies were taken from brass plates which his father found *ὀρύξας τινα τόπον τῆς οἰκίας* (Suid. in v.): the story of the Peripatetic corpus in the cellar at Scepsis is wellknown; copies of Origen's hexapla were found at Jericho *ἐν πίθῳ* (Suid. in v.). The washing open of a tomb provided Galen (II. 221 K.) with a dead human subject, a change from his ordinary of drowned monkey; Philostratus often uses the expedient (Heroicus 288 sqq.). Documents in unusual alphabets which require transcription appear at different points in Greek history—the inscription at Haliartus, Plut. de gen. Socr. 5; that found at Hypata which was taken to the priests at the Ismenion in Thebes to be read, Ar. Mir. Ausc. 133. That the oldest literature was written in an obsolete alphabet was an idea current with the late historians (e.g. Diod. IV. 66, Linus used *Πελασγικὰ γράμματα*; the so-called Phrygian poetry, *ἀρχαϊκοῖς τῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν*). No one therefore will take the Dictyan story *au pied de la lettre;* but the connection with Crete is remarkable. It is not confined to the discovery; the narrator is a Cretan, brother of Idomeneus; the Cretan dynasty is given the *pas* over the Mycenaean by Atreus becoming son of Minos and marrying his daughter to the fathers of the Greek princes; Odysseus tells his

[1] N. E. Griffin 'Dictys and Dares' Baltimore 1907 gives a bibliography. The long list of writers who denied the existence of a Greek origin (an opinion held down to 1886 or 1887) is a singular example of the precariousness of methodical criticism.

adventures not to Alcinous but to Idomeneus in Crete[1]. This may be local patriotism, like the attempts of the Dorian states to get into the Catalogue. The Megarian case in this matter was pushed by Hereas and Dieuchidas; the Cretan colouring in Dictys (and the character Dictys itself) may be due to the Cretan Antenor (F. H. G. IV. 305, Susemihl II. 399 n.) whose Κρητικοὶ λόγοι are quoted by Plutarch and Aelian. His patriotism is attested by Ptolemy Hephaestion 151 b 15 (he owed to it his name δέλτα). This suggestion gains if we consider the very prominent part given to the Trojan Antenor in the diary. He is law-abiding, hospitable and the friend of the Greeks. The surrender of Troy is due to him; it is he and not Aeneas who remains at Troy and refounds the city. v. 17 *ceterum apud Troiam postquam fama est Antenorem regno potitum, cuncti qui bello residui nocturnam civitatis cladem evaserant ad eum confluunt, brevique ingens coalitur multitudo: tantus amor erga Antenorem atque opinio sapientiae incesserat.* Aeneas had levied war against him, and failing emigrated to the Adriatic. The coincidence between the hero and the chronicler need not be casual; as Epicharmus descended from Achilles, and Andocides from Odysseus, Antenor may have glorified his namesake and ancestor[2]. Did Antenor draw on any echo of the Minoian clay-literature which has been restored to our world? or is the version accounted for by the Cretan national character?

Dictys of Crete, whoever he was, provides a prose account of the Trojan war, from the rape of Helen to the death of Ulysses. In much of his narrative there is nothing exceptionally novel or characteristic, allowance being made for a positive tone and an omission of the supernatural. The events, as is natural in a chronicle or soi-disant diary are treated on an uniform scale. The Wrath of Achilles and Death of Hector

[1] A similar inclination towards Crete is found in Zenodotus' readings α 93, 285, when he substitutes Crete for Sparta in Telemachus' journey; and in the addition α 93 *a*.

[2] Other Cretans were Rhianus and Philemon (τὸν Κρητικὸν schol. B 258), but as grammarians they seem less likely. Down to Plato's day (Laws 680 B) Homer was not popular in Crete, as he was not in Megara. Antenor gave the real version of the Tale of Troy, as the Megarian antiquaries falsified Hesiod and assaulted the Iliad.

are allowed 33 out of 113 pages in the Teubner edition. The account however of these events, those namely covered by our Iliad—and also those covered by our Odyssey— is most surprising and quite unlike the Homeric. For the heroic tradition it is in this that the interest of Dictys consists. To appreciate the difference it will be advisable to compare briefly his narrative with the rest of the Tale of Troy, of which the oldest version is the Epic Cycle. A detailed comparison would mean a commentary on Dictys.

About the date of the handbook nothing is known. The story itself ascribes the discovery of the original and its transcription into Greek to the reign of Claudius, but there are no quotations in the classical period, and the papyrus itself (s. III A.D.) is so far the oldest first-hand evidence. Of Antenor, who I suggest had a hand in Dictys' history we can only say he is older than Plutarch.

Books I and II c. 1–27 correspond to the Cypria. Book I opens with a political change. Atreus, as we noticed above is detached from the house of Pelops and becomes son of Minos: the 'Atridae,' Agamemnon, Menelaus and Anaxibia are the children of his daughter Aerope who married Plisthenes. Agamemnon and Menelaus are alluded to with contempt as 'sons of Plisthenes,' v. 16. Atreus' death calls for Menelaus' presence in Crete; in his absence Helen leaves Sparta. The rendezvous of Greek princes is at *Argi*, *Diomedis regnum* not Aegium (as Paus. VII. 24). Agamemnon is *elected* chief. The fleet meets at Aulis, and the catalogue is given of it as there. There are four additions to Homer's list: the Thebans under Thersander son of Polynices, the Acarnanians under Calchas, Colophon under Mopsus, the Cyclades under Epius. These additions are easily explicable. The Thebans, in Homer one among many Boeotian communities, with the curious name Ὑποθῆβαι, assert their independence; Acarnania, unnamed in Homer, but Mycenaean and perhaps part of Dulichium, and the uncolonised Cyclades and Colophon commit anachronism. Colophon somewhat similarly was favoured by the author of the Νόστοι, who made Leonteus, Calchas and Polypoetes return that way and found the place. The Cyclic writer, to avoid competition with Homer[1], omitted the Greek catalogue altogether. On the other hand he had made Helen and Paris return directly to Troy, while

[1] The dependent position of the Cyclics was noticed in antiquity: καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ οἱ τοὺς Νόστους ὑμνήσαντες ἕπονται τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐς ὅσον εἰσὶ δυνατοί. Suidas in Νόστος.

Homer (and Dictys) take them to Cyprus and Sidon. The Cypria could not resist the pressure of Homer, and Proclus found the Homeric version in it[1].) The divine element in the story of Iphigenia is weakened down to *vox quaedam luco emissa* with as it were a reminiscence of Jehovah. She is handed over by general consent *regi Scytharum, qui eo tempore aderat.* Agamemnon was deposed in consequence of the ἄπλοια, but reappointed. (He is deposed also in Ptol. Heph. 150 b 38.) Chryseis and Briseis are given names. Palamedes is killed by Ulysses and Diomede, as in the Cypria: the circumstances are varied.

The remainder of book II, and book III, correspond to our Iliad. In book IV (=Aethiopis) the successive arrival and death of Penthesilea and Memnon are narrated much as in the Cycle. Penthesilea is thrown still alive into the Scamander, but Memnon is killed in battle, not, as in the 'Assyrian' version of Diod. II. 22 in an ambush, though Dictys uses ambuscades to dispose of both Hector and Achilles. Dictys omits the death of Thersites and the subsequent purification of Achilles. The death of Achilles himself constitutes the first real break between Dictys and the Cycle. This was earmarked by Homer by way of prophecy to take place in the Scaean gate, at the hands of Paris and Apollo (X 360), and Arctinus obediently made it so. The question of the correct version is discussed by Ptolemy Hephaestion 146 b 17: we are not told to which Ptolemy inclined, but probably to the latter: the Homeric passage admitted of interpretation. Both versions are recognised also by Philostratus Heroic. 323. In Dictys Achilles is lured to the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo by the bait of Polyxena, and there knifed by Paris and Deiphobus. Two Dictyan characteristics are visible in this version: the extirpation of τὸ θεῖον, and the introduction of the feminine or love-interest. Polyxena appeared in the Cycle, both in the Cypria (as Förster *Hermes* 18. 475 shows), and in the Iliupersis; but only as a victim, another Astyanax. Who first contrived a Corneille situation between her and Achilles is not known; not Euripides, nor Hellanicus (his spelling of the ethnic of Thymbra fr. 135 proves nothing), nor Lycophron (the scholiast mistook Alex. 323, 324 when he saw in them a reference to the death of Achilles in the Thymbraean temple); Hyginus appears to be the earliest extant source. The ambush itself may very well, in all three cases—Hector, Memnon, Achilles—be original. The divine accompaniments of Achilles' funeral are omitted (Thetis later on is a daughter of Chiron!), and there is no ὅπλων κρίσις. There were in fact no ἠφαιστότευκτα ὅπλα to quarrel over, and, a further consequence, Ajax lives on to the end of the siege.

The rest of the events of the siege, narrated in the Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς and Ἰλίου πέρσις are materially identical, but a different tone is given to them. Prolonged negotiations take place on both sides; the betrayal is arranged through Antenor, who, and not Aeneas, eventually remains at Troy.

[1] See C.Q. 1908. 82.

Ulysses and Diomede go to Troy as commissioners not as spies. The Palladium is handed to Ulysses by Antenor; the Horse does not contain anyone; it is allowed to break the wall[1]. The quarrel of Ulysses and Ajax comes here, over the Palladium. Aeneas after endeavouring to eject Antenor from Troy, goes west and colonises Coreyra Nigra[2]. Book VI agrees mostly with the Νόστοι and the Τηλεγονία, though several particulars are added not mentioned by Proclus: *e.g.* the refusal of the subjects of Diomede, Teucer and Idomeneus to receive them; the disagreement (known to us from Tragedy) between Orestes and his uncle; a story told at considerable length of the return of Neoptolemus; an account of the ashes of Memnon; the marriage of Peleus and Thetis *ἐν παρεκβάσει* (perhaps from Hesiod fr. 81 or Agamestor).

On the whole when we compare the account of the Trojan war in the Cycle and in Dictys, we find two general characteristics in the latter: a pragmatizing of causes, whereby the divine wholly and the adventurous largely are extirpated; and the introduction, to a limited extent and principally in the career of Achilles, of the feminine interest. Both these views of events are late Greek. The historians from the fourth century onwards banished the divine; the woman-interest in itself goes back a long way, apparently to Hesiod, who brings Achilles into relation with Iphigenia, Helen and Medea; Tragedy is full of it as a means of heightening pathos: but intrigue, as we call it, is post-epic and post-tragic. Dictys admits these two tendencies or mental habits, but his events, in their order and effect are substantially the same as in the version made into epos between 750 and 600. When we look at the portion of the Tale of Troy appropriated ere that period by Homer and worked into our Iliad and Odyssey, the relation between Dictys and the Epic account of these portions of the war is very different.

[1] And therefore if according to Mr Murray's ingenious idea it originally meant a siege-tower full of men and artillery (but the medieval siege-towers at least are like anything rather than a horse), in the Dictyan version it typifies a battering-ram. Still a hollow animal entered by a window is an ancient conception; *e.g.* Phalaris' bull, and the Lydian horse Philostr. Her. 288 *ἐς γὰρ κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον θυρίδας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ ἔχοντα νεκρὸς ἀπέκειτο.* It was buried in the earth and an earthquake brought it to light.

[2] Curzola was a Cnidian colony, Plin. III. 152, Strabo 318. Was this the gloss Corinthian epic poets put upon its Asiatic origin?

I give next an abstract of Dictys' account of the portion of the Tale of Troy covered by the Iliad and Odyssey.

Chryses demands back his daughter Astynome, Agamemnon's captive. She is refused him. A plague invades the Greek army, starting from the cattle. Calchas declares this to be due to Apollo's anger and that Astynome must be restored, Agamemnon arms his men to resist this demand; the Trojans seize this moment to attack, but are repulsed. Agamemnon yields on condition Hippodamia (Briseis) shall be given to him. This is done and Achilles and his friends secede. The Trojans receive accession of allies, and a Catalogue of their forces is given. The Greeks are marshalled according to tribes, under the direction of the Athenian Menestheus. Achilles full of revenge, purposes to attack the Greeks. His attempt is foreseen and frustrated. Hector, hearing the noise, sends out Dolon to explore; he falls into the hands of Ulysses and Diomede. A general engagement follows; Menelaus and Paris meet in a duel; when Menelaus is on the point of killing Paris he is struck by Pandarus with an arrow; Pandarus after wounding several other Greeks is killed by Diomede. The Trojans retire inside their walls, the Greeks go into winter quarters. Ajax plunders Phrygia. Hector makes a surprise attack on the camp and sets light to the ships. Entreaties are made to Achilles who rejects them. Ajax lays Hector low with a stone; the Trojans are driven back; Ajax is entertained by Agamemnon. Rhesus arrives to reinforce the Trojans; Diomede and Ulysses kill him in his sleep and drive off his horses. The Thracians attack the Greeks but are worsted. The Trojans obtain a truce. Philoctetes arrives from Lemnos.

An assembly of the Greeks is held and Ajax proposes that overtures be made to Achilles *nunc vel maxime cum secundis rebus Graeci et paulo ante victores non ob utilitatem sed honoris merito gratiam eius peterent.* Agamemnon assents, stating he had previously endeavoured to appease Achilles. Agamemnon in the presence of Patroclus offers conditions; Ajax, Ulysses and Diomede proceed to Achilles as a deputation; after speeches Achilles yields to them and to Phoenix and Patroclus and is entertained by Agamemnon. Patroclus conducts Hippodamia back to Achilles' quarters. The winter passes under a truce; Achilles falls in love with Polyxena, Hector demands the betrayal of the Greeks or the murder of the Atridae and Ajax as the price of her hand. The war is renewed: Hector escapes from Achilles, who is wounded in the hand by Helenus. Patroclus kills Sarpedon. The next day Patroclus is killed by Euphorbus and Hector, and mutilated. His funeral. Hector on his way to meet Penthesilea is ambushed by Achilles and killed. Games are celebrated in honour of Patroclus. Priam, together with Andromache and her children Astyanax and Laodamas and abundant ransom proceed to the Greek camp, where the princes meet them. The party are taken to Achilles.

Speeches are exchanged. Polyxena adds her entreaties. Achilles consults the other princes, who advise him to accept the ransom. Priam removes the body of Hector. Penthesilea arrives.

The difference between this account of the Quarrel and the story in our Iliad can escape no one. Beside the omission of the theological interest (this includes the debates in heaven, all divine assistance to the heroes, fights between the Gods, Thetis, Hephaestus and the arms) we find these main points of variation: (1) The quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles extends to their contingents and all but results in civil war. We have a state of things similar to the Crusaders' camp in the Talisman. (2) The Greek catalogue is omitted. It stood in the chronicle at the Aulis-stage, though by no means a reproduction of the anchorage. The Trojan catalogue on the other hand is found at about this point in Homer, the Cypria and Dictys: and therefore may be assumed to have been here in the chronicle. Its position is accounted for by the increasing number of Asiatic reinforcements; or possibly because no general engagement was represented as having taken place before. (3) Dolon is sent to spy early in the story, and his death has no connection with that of Rhesus. (4) After Hector sets fire to the ships Agamemnon and the host generally seek to propitiate Achilles, *territi atque improviso tumultu exsangues*, but apparently informally. (5) The nocturnal murder of Rhesus by Ulysses and Diomede follows Hector's repulse from the ships by Ajax, and takes place, like Hector's surprise attack in the winter while both hosts are in quarters. This attack apparently suggested building the wall. (6) The formal atonement by Agamemnon and the embassy to Achilles take place when the Greek fortunes are at their height, after the massacre of the Thracians: not, as in Homer, under the pressure of necessity. (7) Achilles' reconciliation is effected upon terms, owing to general political considerations, not, as in Homer, when the wound to his honour is forgotten in rage at Patroclus' death. Patroclus conducts the negotiation, and is not sent out at the head of the Myrmidons till afterwards. (8) Polyxena and the romantic feminine interest. Achilles has to choose between Polyxena and his honour. (9) Hector's death is effected by

an ambuscade; it is no climax, and occasions no heroism. (10) Priam's embassy is public, known to both Greeks and Trojans, and includes women and children[1].

We have therefore in Dictys the same familiar story, the episode in the Siege of Troy during which Agamemnon and Achilles were at variance, and filled with the same events; but the events are not in the same order or connection, and the motives leading to them are very different. In Homer they may be called personal, in Dictys political. What is the origin of the political version?

No certain answer can be given to this question. The usual view, as I gather from the articles in Smith and Pauly-Wissowa, is that a late writer—logographer, rhetorician or antiquary, rearranged Homer in accordance with the principles of historical Greek criticism. He composed a prose version of the old theme, adapted to probable truth; he took out the divine, inserted the women's parts, and altered the order of events so as to exhibit their causes in the light of what he considered historical probability. This may be the truth, but there are objections against it, general and particular:

. (i) It would be an unique feat in antiquity. The account given by Homer of the events between the quarrel over Chryseis and Briseis and the death of Hector is everywhere else sacred. It was respected (*a*) by the epic poets who worked up the rest of the war, Stasinus, Arctinus, Lesches: and so far as we can see by 'Hesiod' and the Corinthians. (*b*) By the later artists who gave the epic theme a new metrical dress and a new psychology to the characters, such as Stesichorus, Pindar, and the dramatists. (*c*) The précis-writers, whether amateurs like Plato or the professionals—cyclographi, such as Apollodorus, paraphrasts, and anonymi whose work survives in fragments on stone and papyrus[2]. (*d*) The rhe-

[1] Andromache and the children appear also in Ptol. Heph. 151 b 37.

[2] Plato Rep. 393 sq. Theognis 1123-8 has a kind of epitome of the Odyssey. Paraphrasts: Tribonian paraphrased the Catalogue, Tryphiodorus the *παραβολαί*, Philostratus the Shield (Suid. in vv.): Odyssey, C. I. G. Sic. Ital. 1291. Of the Byzantines Psellus and Moschopoulos remain, Demosthenes Thrax whom Eustathius used has perished.

Anonymi: I. G. Sic. Ital. 1284—1293 (Tabula Iliaca etc.). The papyrus

toricians who composed on the theme: Gorgias, Alcidamas, Choricius[1]. None of these take liberties with Homer's facts. Even the late 'anti-Homeric' literature is occupied not with denying the truth of the Iliad or substituting another version for it, but in championing the heroes, Palamedes, Protesilaus, Telephus and so forth for whom there was no place in the Iliad and who therefore were always in the shade. This is the bearing of Dio of Prusa's oration no. XI, and of Philostratus' strange work the Heroicus. What Ptolemy Hephaestion (or Chennos) put in his *Ἀνθόμηρος*, a poem in 24 books, we do not know. The fragments of heroic erudition contained in his *Ποικίλη ἱστορία* read by Photius again relate to the portion of the Tale of Troy outside the fence, or insert the feminine interest into Ω.

At most we find that late writers, such as Hyginus or Philostratus, venture to disregard hints or forecasts given by Homer of events which fall outside the Iliad, as the manner of the death of Achilles[2].

We may therefore ask, could a late prose writer have ventured to rewrite the Iliad? if he had done so, would not his attempt have remained a sterile paradox, like the *χωρισμός*?

(ii) In particular we notice that where Dictys is dealing with events outside the Iliad and Odyssey, he agrees, with some few exceptions, with the oldest tradition, that of the Cycle. With few exceptions he respects the events and limits himself to removing heroic ethos. With the Iliad and Odyssey it is quite different. He rewrites them. Why did the supposed rhetorician choose the more difficult task? Why, sparing the outlines of the Siege and the Return in general did he attack exactly the episodes which had become quasi-canonical throughout the ancient world? We may fairly ask why, if the rhetorician set out to modernise the cause and effect of the

paraphrase (of the Odyssey) is unpublished. Periochae: ib. 1286, 7, 8.

[1] Gorgias: Apologia Palamedis, Encomium Helenae. Alcidamas: *Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ Παλαμήδους*. Choricius (late): Patroclus, Polydamas, Priamus. The genuineness of these pieces (on which for Alcidamas and Choricius I may refer to the articles in P-W.) does not affect my argument.

[2] These variations engaged the attention of Tyrannio in a work *ὅτι διαφωνοῦσιν οἱ νεώτεροι ποιηταὶ πρὸς Ὅμηρον*, Suid. in v.

Iliad, did he respect the Cycle? He treated, *ex hypothesi*, the whole of the κύκλος, from the Rape of Helen to the death of Ulysses; the only part he remodelled extensively was that contained in the Greek national poem. It is plain this is not probable.

The material differences between the version of Dictys and of the Cycle are the death of Achilles and the quarrel of Ulysses and Ajax, and both show the working of two general modernising principles, not peculiar to Dictys: the feminine interest, in the case of Achilles, and the objection to the divine, which forbade the ἡφαιστότευκτα ὅπλα to exist and therefore required a new motive for Ajax' death.

Next I give Dictys' version of the Odyssey:

Ulysses, after the Palladium had been adjudged to him and Diomede, left Troy secretly and went to Ismarus. His ships, men and Trojan spoils had been taken from him, apparently at Troy by Telamon in revenge for Ajax's death. From Ismarus, in hired Phoenician ships, he went to the Lotophagi, and Sicily, where he fell in with the brothers Cyclops and Laestrygon and their sons Antiphates and Polyphemus: Polyphemus pitied him and made terms. Ulysses endeavoured to carry off Arene who had fallen in love with his friend Alphenor, was expelled, passed by the Aeolian islands, Circe, and Calypso, to hell, past the Sirens, lost most of his ships and crews between Scylla and Charybdis, fell into the hands of Phoenician pirates, and with his Phoenician ships arrived at Crete, where he told his ἀπόλογος to Idomeneus. Idomeneus sent him on to Alcinous king of the Phaeacians. Here he hears that Penelope is beset by thirty suitors. He induces Alcinous to go with him to Ithaca; they surprise the suitors *multo vino atque epulis repletos* and put them to death. 'Nausica' marries Telemachus; three years later Laertes dies; Telemachus' son is called Ptoliporthus.

The difference between this account and the Homeric Odyssey is even clearer. Dictys gives us the same framework of events; it does not appear that he invented a single one. The differences are in tone and motive. Ulysses leaves Troy under a cloud, his quarrel with Ajax, postponed till the end of Troy, accounted for his departure, some action of Telamon's for his evil plight. The giants are pragmatised; evidently Polyphemus does not live in a cave, and is not blinded. Scylla and Charybdis are tides and rocks. That the hero came to Crete and told his ἀπόλογος to Idomeneus reads like a

deliberate invention on the part of Dictys, since Alcinous and the Phaeacians remain in the story. The woman-interest is seen in Arene. The great difference however between Homer and Dictys is in the latter half of the story. Instead of the hero landing alone in Ithaca, his adventures as a beggar, the slowly mounting insolence of the suitors, he is accompanied in force by Alcinous and surprises the suitors over their wine.

With this framework we understand Polybius, who (ap. Strab. 23) *οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν Αἰόλον ἐν μύθου σχήματι ἀκούεσθαι οὐδ' ὅλην τὴν Ὀδυσσέως πλάνην, τὸ δ' ὅλον περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ πεποιῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγραφεῦσιν ὅσοι τὰ περιχώρια λέγουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν.* The chart of the wanderings was according to him unaltered, the wonders, *τέρατα*, about Polyphemus and Charybdis were the work of Homer and the local historians.

If then it is improbable that any late historian could have so far disregarded the authority of Homer as to rearrange the events of the Iliad and Odyssey, and if such an enterprise seems inconsistent with the respect paid by Dictys to the rest of the Cycle, what other explanation can be offered? None, that I can see, but this that Dictys follows in his *κύκλος* a real tradition, a tradition coinciding with the Cycle, but non-Homeric for the Iliad and Odyssey. In other words the disappearance of the heroic chronicle was not complete: it remains to us in Dictys and the Cycle, and, for the episodes of the Wrath of Achilles and the Return of Ulysses, in Dictys. Our Iliad and Odyssey are these two episodes as arranged by Homer out of chronicle. The reason why Dictys is faithful to the Cyclic poets in the Tale of Troy at large, but deserts Homer in these two episodes, is that the Cycle and Dictys alike represent the original chronicle; the chronicle-version of the Wrath and the *Ὀδυσσεία* no longer exist in epos because these two episodes were seized for treatment by a master-mind.

If it is necessary to offer a reconstruction of the steps by which the heroic lays descend to the *κύκλος* of Dictys, the indications available suggest the following. The heroic lays fell into lengths—portions dealing with important events—as

it were of themselves[1]: the portion, or separate poem, dealing with the Ira Achillis, seized and treated by Homer in epos, remained in obscurity with the rest of the heroic chronicle which the Cyclici in due time found and treated. Its continued existence caused and justified the abundant though vague tradition (hailing perhaps in the first instance from the Homeridae, like the other legends about Homer) which gave Homer predecessors and made him an 'imitator.' When prose came, this poem was put into prose (as Eumelus and Acusilaus were held to have treated Hesiod, Clem. Alex. II. 241), with the alterations, immediate or subsequent, in tone and taste which the age demanded, and christened Dictys. I have suggested as a candidate for this office Antenor the Cretan historian. In the classical age the prose work remained as obscure as its poetical original. The heroic logographers, Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Damastes, overshadowed it, and it had rivals in the multitude of *κύκλοι*. When these severer works faded, the simplicity of Dictys recommended him to the infant modern world; the Eastern Empire found him congenial, and the Latin version had an almost incredible vogue in Western Europe.

IV.

I could wish the proof that Dictys' diary represents the original Troy-chronicle were more cogent. But any other account of the genesis of Dictys seems as I have said less probable, and his narrative of the events is more in harmony with what must have actually happened at a siege of a city towards the end of the second millennium B.C. than the dramatic presentation given us by Homer. Dictys gives the operations their natural time[2]. After Pandarus' death both sides go into winter quarters and begin to plough: *ubi hiems adventare et imbribus crebris compleri coepere campi, barbari intra muros abeunt. at nostri nullo palam hoste digressi ad naves munia hiemis disponunt, moxque bipertito campo qui reliquus non pugnae opportunus erat, utraque pars aratui insistere.* The

[1] That is, without the intervention of an innovator or genius whose name survived.

[2] Dares exaggerates, on the other hand, the leisureliness of both sides.

panic owing to which the Greeks first applied to Achilles was caused by an attack made by Hector *nostris per conditionem hiemis quietis nihilque suspicantibus*, and the discovery of their liability to this sort of raiding seems to have induced the Greeks to protect the ships by a wall. Homer took the wall, and at the same point in the story, but without an adequate reason, merely to heighten the distress of the Greeks. During the same winter the Thracians arrived and were attacked at night by Ulysses and Diomede. The advantage given to the Greeks by the destruction of this reinforcement put them in such a position of superiority that they judged the time come to formally propitiate Achilles. This is a probable sequence of events. When the winter is over the Greeks, now assisted by Achilles and the Myrmidons, take the field again. Achilles had suffered his wounded honour—wounded by the loss of the girl his γέρας—to be consoled by the appropriate amends, ἐπὶ δώρων; this is how such offences were actually condoned, and how public opinion even in Homer expects him to allow condonation to be made. A leading case of refusal to show this civic spirit was that of Meleager, of whom the Homeric Achilles is reminded. Further Priam's embassy must, as in Dictys, have been public and above-board; such an *enjeu* as the body of Hector could not have been at the discretion of any one captain. Homer's conception of αἰτία is like that of Shakespeare in his historical plays, individualist. Whims and passions determine events; he is drama, not history. Ambushes again, of which Homer does not avail himself for first-class business, are natural; and the ambushing of Hector and the trapping of Achilles are supported by the similar fate of Memnon in the eastern or Ctesian version. In short Dictys' narrative is so like what one might expect to find on a Hittite monument or in the Πελασγικὰ γράμματα of Crete, that we may be sure the actual events were like it, and the chronicle too (plus no doubt the divine and less the feminine).

I will now venture to use Dictys' narrative to illustrate the difference between chronicle and epos. (A mere sketch of course is all I intend: to treat the subject fully a book would be required.) I have long been convinced that the explanation

of the genesis of the Iliad and Odyssey consists in the postulation of two elements, an original chronicle, and a single genius working upon it. The idea may be developed *a priori* by contemplating the Iliad and Odyssey as they stand, but it gains in substantiality if we may add a representation of what the chronicle was like. Still my view rests in the last resort upon the nature of the poems, and the evidence derivable from the Odyssey of the character of Greek heroic poetry, not on my theory of the origin of Dictys, which pending new evidence must remain uncertain.

It is also (as we said above) uncertain, if, supposing Dictys to represent in substance the actual course of events, the Diary is a direct adaptation of the 'chronicle,' or a transcription of some annalistic poem, some work of 'Musaeus' which survived Homer. Perhaps we should allow enough weight to Greek tradition to incline us in the latter direction. The essential fact to bear in mind is the existence till 600 B.C. or thereabouts of some kind of poem, out of which the Cyclic poets made their epe. Analogically, in 900 or 950, the same thing served Homer as his groundwork.

The chronicle covered the whole tale, from the Rape of Helen to the last Nostos. Homer chose two episodes in it, the Quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, and the return of Ulysses. The episodes existed, Homer did not invent them; the narrative poet does not invent. He chose them however, and this of itself postulates an individual. Chronicle may accrue as it were automatically, but chronicle cannot select. Homer chose two episodes, neither of historical importance. The death of Hector, which came immediately after the termination of the Menis (though not a consequence of it) was less important than the defeats of Penthesilea, Memnon and even the massacre of Rhesus and the Thracians; the return of Ulysses produced no political change, and therefore was less important than those of Teucer and Diomede, which led to colonisation, or even that of Idomeneus, who according to Dictys was not received by his people. The first difference then between chronicle and Homer is choice; Homer chose as Mure said his subject for its moral value. Ancient criticism

saw this clearly. The second is the treatment of the subject chosen. In Dictys the Menis-episode is allotted 33 pages out of 113; the Nostos of Ulysses (in epitome) 2. They lie before us as the Iliad of 24 books and 15693 verses, and the Odyssey of 24 books and 12110 lines. The Wrath of Achilles is longer than the First and the Second Siege of Thebes added together. Expansion also was recognised by Aristotle; *πολλοῖς ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται* is how he puts it. With the help of Dictys we may follow the poet's processes more closely.

The ground of offence is the same. The King of Men gives up on public grounds his bedfellow and takes that of Achilles by way of compensation. (This is natural; on such grounds do quarrels arise between single men in barracks. Mr Murray has not persuaded us that the Achaeans let their hair grow and kept themselves from women.) The pros and cons are debated in ethical rhetoric of the real Homeric *cru*. Achilles retires, as in the chronicle; the host is mustered, as in the chronicle. Homer leads up to the mustering by the cumbrous machinery of Agamemnon's dream[1], many flowers of style, and the Catalogue of Ships and Trojans. The Greek catalogue belongs to the Aulis-period of the war; the Trojan catalogue, on the evidence, always stood hereabouts[2]. Regular fighting follows, as in the chronicle, but Homer huddles the action up, and eager to glorify his hero allows the Greeks without Achilles to hold out only a matter of a day or two. The reader is given a glimpse of Troy by the *τειχοσκοπία*, and a forecast of the end of the war in Hector's unmotived and useless visit to the city. These episodes are inventions or transpositions from elsewhere.

The duel, the treachery of Pandarus and the *ἀριστεία* of

[1] The explanation offered to Mr Lang C. R. 1907. 18 is I find ancient. Dion. Hal. *τεχν. ῥητ.* VIII. 15 gives the passage as an example *τῶν τὰ ἐναντία βουλομένων οἷς λέγουσιν.*

[2] That the Greek catalogue has no proper reference to our Iliad appears from the prophecy that the Achaeans will have need of Philoctetes (B 725), which Homer allows to stand though there is no other mention of Philoctetes in his poem. Dictys and the Cypria offer their Trojan catalogue at this point or nearly: since the latter waived its right to the Greek catalogue but retained the Trojan, it probably gave the latter in a fuller form, eked out by colonial knowledge.

Diomede all end very quickly (in time if not in verse) in the discomfiture of the Greeks, and by the end of Book 8 we find the Trojans bivouacking close to the ships. Here Homer broke definitely with chronicle—and sure enough Θ strikes ancients and moderns as patchwork. It is machinery of the same kind as Agamemnon's dream. To heighten the value of his hero Homer anticipated events. He emphasised the first, and unsuccessful, Greek appeal, not the second. Θ leads to I. Thus the hero, his wound still raw, is able to pour out the romantic rhetoric which Homer invented in I. However he followed on the whole the chronicle-sequence and therefore found Rhesus and his Thracians here. (They arrived according to Dictys during the midwinter truce.) With the raid on them he combined a previous exploit of the same pair, and produced the admirable book K (implied in Θ 517—522, Λ 13, 14), strangely misapprehended by critics. It was neither intended to produce nor does it produce comedy; it is in fact remarkably grim, but it exhibits the destruction of one of the successive Trojan reinforcements as a night's work. In Λ the chronicle continues, with much assistance from Nestor's παρεκβάσεις (filched from other bardic chronicles): the heroes are incapacitated with exactitude and the path is clear for the return of Achilles. The chronicle made him accept terms after debate. Homer had inserted debate and rejection at an earlier period; some new means must be had to bend his hard heart now; and here we reach the positive merit of Homer, the touch which turned chronicle into romance. The death of Patroclus is adapted in order to account for the change. One passion drives out another, wild rage obliterates wounded pride[1]. This is romance, this makes the episode of the Quarrel a unity, not the sermonising of Athena, or the small beer of Andromache.—We continue: the hero appears and carries on the war single-handed: every obstacle, divine and human, is put in his way,

[1] The terms, δῶρα, were accepted all the same: public law demanded it, and Homer could only make Achilles impatient of the delay. They were in all versions offered twice: Achilles' Ate consisted in not accepting them the first time and hoping for still more complete humiliation of Agamemnon. His Ate demanded his friend's life. This was Homer's drama-Iliad.

but it is his moment, he is irresistible. *Il s'agit bien des embûches*, poor Hector is brought out and blown up into acting. He falls, and Achilles still unaided restores his body—and begs forgiveness of Patroclus for doing so.

If we ask what is the one quality which distinguishes epos from chronicle, it is, of course, *ethos* or motive. The facts are the same in each; vested interests and bardic jealousy copyrighted them to such an extent. They were made interesting to a Chian and Smyrnaean public (no longer princes) by the attribution of motive. The events of a long campaign, determined like those of all campaigns by public interests mainly material, were exhibited as worked by individual motives of hate, revenge and love. The events were made so interesting that the poem became immediately the national epos of the race; the chronicle from which it sprang was extinguished like a choked spring. It had, also, yielded all it was capable of: the efforts of centuries of later artists to extract new values from the chronicle-theme were unavailing. Neither the casuists who developed Ulysses nor the bread-and-milk of tragedy could hold up against

> *μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν αἴ κε πύθηαι*
> *εἰν Ἀϊδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι Ἕκτορα δῖον ἔλυσα.*

Homer then rearranged the sequence and connection of the events of his episode in order to introduce what he thought an attractive ethos. The original lays can have had little: blood and wounds (what the Greeks knew as *πάθος*), and marvels, *τέρας*, were their themes. The individuals held their different political positions; Agamemnon the Emperor, Achilles the leader of a Sperchean clan, Ulysses the west-Greek pirate; but the psychological distinction cannot have been great. The short lay recited to replete squires had not the compass to develope character and to allow Ulysses and Achilles to utter *διάνοιαι* on the shortness of life and the effect of Ate. Even in the Iliad Idomeneus has no individuality, and most of the Crusaders in the Catalogue are mentioned only when they fall. Homer rearranged the chronicle so as to put the quarrel between Agamemnon and his first warrior in the most moving

light; he also, if we may conjecture, amplified his theme with παρεκβάσεις, the feats of bygone generations, reminiscences of the earlier years of the war and forecasts of what was to come. Thus he made his episode represent the whole war by way of selection, and fit to become as it soon did, a national poem. How Homer succeeded in his intention we know, but it is equally plain that his technique was not equal to his creative power. To-day quality and technique go together; but in the post-heroic age, though Homer's technique was doubtless as great an advance as iron after bronze, it was behind his invention, language and power. The chronicle was there and imposed conditions: the poet accelerated his tempo, to show the due working of Ate, but the tradition was still a drag. The difficulties, dwelled on by modern critics for a century, are in the main real[1]; they are the result of the partial transformation of chronicle.

The conception of a metrical chronicle existing in heroic times, and of Homeric epos made out of this either directly or through intermediate compositions, appears to give this kind of criterion by which to distinguish the Homeric and non-Homeric portions of the Iliad. The Homeric are the later, in which Achilles is *rehaussé:* the older prae-Homeric parts are what is said about others than Achilles. The Menis is ancient, the expansion and emphasisation of it are Homeric. The books which emphasise the Menis and are therefore Homeric are A, I, Π to the end. Homeric are also the books which introduce these, or are involved in the reconstruction of the chronicle made necessary by this intention: the first half of B, the Tichoscopia, Θ, K. The 'Achilleis' therefore—there never was such a thing—but what the critics call the Achilleis, is not the kernel but the shell of the poem. It is the contribution of Homer to the chronicle.

The treatment which the poet gave to his second theme, the nostos of Ulysses, is so plain as to require a mere mention.

[1] One, as noted above, is illusory, that of the two atonements. Two were always offered and were demanded by public use in Homer's day as well as in the actual heroic age.

He did two things in chief: he altered the chronological sequence of the narrative (to which he had been faithful in the Menis: the Siege of course was of historical importance, Ulysses' nostos was a trivial subject), and he added the ethos of the suitor-books. The high comedy and the moral lesson are the property of the poet, and were recognised as his by the ancient writers. The *τέρατα* seem to have been in the chronicle. Again the 'Telemacheia' as the critics with even less justification call it, that is the Ithacan interest, is Homeric.

Homer's aesthetic intuition—his selection of good subject matter and expansion of it; and his gift of character-drawing and discovery of motive, are the two qualities whereby he was distinguished from the chronicle-singers, and which make his two poems alive and in print to-day:

> *ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλαι πολύμυθοι·*
> *βαιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν*
> *ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς· ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως*
> *παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν.*

His nearest parallel seems to be Shakespeare in his historical plays, which romanticising the real *αἰτίαι* give us such personages as Falstaff and Lear. His technique was not sufficient to conceal from the northern critic, armed with the glass of analogy, the truth that the Iliad is not the Tale of Troy in its original shape. The critic has perceived the seams, but has not known how to assign the portions of the web.

T. W. ALLEN.

ΩΡΑΝ IN AESCHYLUS, &c.

There are two passages in tragedy (Aesch. *Eum.* 109, Eur. *Bac.* 723) where the use of *ὥραν* in the accusative to denote a point of time has caused some searchings of heart. Some time ago I began noting down instances of this use from various authors; perhaps I should have spared myself the trouble had I first read in Blass on *Eum.* 109, *ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν*, the following note:

"*Ὥραν* (und *ἀωρίαν*) in der Zeitbestimmung immer so im Akkusativ, Eurip. Bacch. 723 *τὴν τεταγμένην ὥραν*, Aristot. Πολ. Ἀθ. 30 Ende *τὴν ὥραν τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν*."

And he refers to his Grammar of New Testament Greek § 34, 8, where several passages from the LXX and the New Testament are quoted also, and Demosthenes 54, 4, *δειπνοποιεῖσθαι ὥραν* = at the right time.

Liddell and Scott refer to Hesiod *Sc.* 401, *τὴν ὥρην μάρναντο*, "*in* that season," Aeschines *Timarch.* 9, *ἣν ὥραν*, "*at* what age," and to Herodotus and Xenophon for *τὴν ὥραν* "at the right time."

These passages fall into three groups. (A) *ὥραν* with a pronoun, for *τὴν* in Hesiod is a pronoun, (B) *ὥραν* with or without a participle added, meaning "at the right or appointed time," (C) the poetical extension of the use in Aeschylus.

My further instances bear out this grouping very strongly.

(A) Hippocrates vol. I p. 358 (Kühn), *λευκότατα γίνεται μάλιστα ταύτην τὴν ὥραν*, and *αὐτόματοι ταύτην τὴν ὥραν χολὴν ἐμέουσι*; cf. *τοῦ ἦρος καὶ τοῦ θέρεος* on the same page, shewing clearly that there is no question of duration of time. Xen. *Cyn.* v 6, *συνδυάζεται μὲν ἀεὶ μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην τὴν*

ὥραν, ix. 1, *ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὥραν γίγνονται.* Aristot. *Hist. An.* VI xvii, *τοὺς δὲ τόκους οὔτε πάντες οἱ ἰχθύες ποιοῦνται τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν.* Apoll. Rhod. III 899, *τότ' ἔπειτ' αὐτὴν* (= *τὴν αὐτὴν*) *ἀπονισσόμεθ' ὥρην.* (Compare a similar use of *ἡμέραν.* Demosth. *Cor.* 180, *καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ;* Lucian *Amores* 10, *κἀκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν εἱστιάρχουν ἐγὼ τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ Καλλικρατίδας.*) Closely akin to this use with a pronoun are the following. Xen. *Mem.* III viii 10, *ὅποι πάσας ὥρας αὐτός τε ἂν ἥδιστα καταφεύγοι.* Aristot. apud Athenaeum 394, *τίκτουσι δὲ πᾶσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους.* *Meteorologica* III ii 3, *πᾶσαν ὥραν γίγνεται τῆς ἡμέρας* (*ἡ ἶρις*). Xen. *Cyn.* vi 13, *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὥρας.*

(B) Lucian *Navigium* 22, *λουσάμενον ἥκειν κελεύσω τὴν ὥραν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον.*

(C) Apoll. Rhod. III 417, *δείελον ὥρην παύομαι ἀμήτοιο.*

It is clear that A and B are correct uses in all sorts and kinds of Greek. In the New Testament we have *ποίαν ὥραν;* and *ὥραν ἑβδόμην*, a very slight extension (see Blass *loc. cit.*). That poets should go further still as Aeschylus and Apollonius do, is only what might be expected. It is much more astonishing to find such a thing as *πρὸς ὥραν* to express duration of time in late Greek: *πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον* (*Martyrium S. Polycarpi* 11), which however is after all only a slight change from Plutarch's *πρὸς ὀλίγον* &c. (Liddell and Scott, s. v. *πρός*, C, II.)

ARTHUR PLATT.

GREEK NOUNS IN LATIN POETRY

FROM LUCRETIUS TO JUVENAL[1].

Within the last twelve years there have appeared no fewer than five editions of the siluae of Statius; and every one of this rather excessive number exhibits, at the beginning of the first poem, the following verses:

caelone peractum
fluxit opus? Siculis an conformata caminis
effigies lassum Steropem Brontemque reliquit? 4

And who, pray, are Sterops and Bron, or Brons, if that is his name? for they are not to be found in any dictionary Greek or Latin. And, whoever they may be, what are they doing here at the forges of Aetna in place of our old friends Steropes and Brontes, whom we find at work again in III 1 131 'non tam grande sonat motis incudibus Aetne | cum Brontes Steropesque ferit'? To which of the Greek declensions these two names belong, and what their accusatives are, is known to anyone who has read Hes. theog. 140 Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε: what authority assures us that it was unknown to Statius? A single MS of the 15th century.

Scaliger, who, alas, was capable of anything, once translated a verse of Aratus by this verse of his own,

post Helicem instanti similis de more iuuencis.

The name of the Great Bear is not Helix but Helice; so Huetius takes him to task as follows: 'dicat Scaliger, cuius Grammatici auctoritate fretus hunc uersum nobis panxit. equidem scio Orbilium tam atrocem soloecismum ferula fuisse

[1] Read to the Oxford Philological Society on the 26th Nov. 1909.

ulturum.' The critic's syntax is irregular, but his accidence is correct and his rebuke, as everyone admits, is merited: an acc. *Helicem* from a nom. *Helice* is scouted on all hands as barbarous. Now the same 15th century MS which is our sole authority for the text of Statius' siluae is one of our three authorities for the text of Manilius' astronomica; and at IV 792 in that poem it presents *Helicem* instead of *Helicen* as the acc. of *Helice*. *Helicem* therefore has exactly the same authority as *Steropem* and *Brontem*. Nay it has more, for the cod. Lipsiensis of Manilius, which belongs to the 11th century, presents the same form at the same place. And many a time do far older and better MSS present similar forms: even the Palatinus of Virgil, written perhaps in the 4th century and possessing a fair claim to be called the best existing MS of any Latin poet, has *Euhadnem* at Aen. VI 447 as the accusative of *Euhadne*.

Most modern editors, so far as their thoughts can be inferred from their actions, divide into three classes the very numerous accusatives in *-em* which the MSS of the Latin poets bestow upon Greek nouns of the 1st declension. Accusatives in *-em* from feminine nouns like *Helice* they not only believe but spontaneously feel to be barbarous, and expel them from their texts as a matter of course. Accusatives in *-em* from masculine patronymics like *Pelides* they regard in theory as barbarous, but have no instinctive sense of their barbarism: they expel them from their texts when they are broad awake, but retain them when they are dozing; so that Korn prints *Sperchionidem* in Ouid. met. V 86, Baehrens *Alcidem* in Prop. IV 9 38 and *Aeacidem* in Il. Lat. 967, Peiper and Richter and Leo *Atridem* in [Sen.] Oct. 816, Bechert and Breiter *Tydidem* in Manil. I 763, Bauer *Amphitryoniadem* in Sil. Ital. XV 79. Accusatives in *-em* from masculine nouns in *-es* which are not patronymics they accept from the MSS with little or no demur: *cometem* is printed by Buecheler at Iuu. VI 407, by Baehrens and Schenkl at Calp. buc. I 78, and by Bauer and Summers at Sil. IX 444: *Niphatem* by Buecheler at Iuu. VI 409; *Euphratem* by all editors at Prop. III 11 25 and by Heitland (and Hosius in his 1st though not in his 2nd edition) at Luc. II 633; *Orontem* by all editors at Stat. silu. IV 7 46; *Xerxem* by all at Manil. IV 65;

Tigranem by all at Luc. II 637; *Simonidem* by all at Phaedr. IV 26 25 and 28, though Bentley read *-en*; *Aristidem* by Riese and Owen at Ouid. trist. II 443; *Orestem* by all editors at Ouid. remed. 589 and trist. II 395 and by Baehrens at Prop. II 14 5; *Lycophontem* by all editors at Stat. Theb. II 610; *Bellerophontem* by all at Manil. V 97 and by almost all at Hor. carm. IV 11 28, though Bentley in both places has the right form. And if they were asked to justify their action they would probably reply that these nouns are heteroclite.

For this triple classification there is no ground. If we look to the general practice of MSS, and especially of MSS which are old and good, then in all three classes we find the termination *-en* very greatly predominating. If on the other hand we look to the exceptions, to places where all or most MSS offer the termination *-em*, there we find them offering it in all three classes. And whether in our texts we constantly maintain their general practice, or suffer it to be varied by their exceptions, in either case we shall be trusting to guidance in which no sure trust can be reposed. On the question whether an accusative ends with *n* or *m* the authority of a MS is so slight a thing that it can barely be reckoned as existing.

In demonstrating this, I will not condescend to any such texts as Statius' siluae, preserved in one late MS. The examples which follow are taken from MSS of good or even excellent character, and of high or at least respectable antiquity; and these lections are presented, some of them by all, some by a majority, none by less than an important minority, of the witnesses on which the text depends.

Verg. buc. V 52 *Daphnim ad* astra feremus, amauit nos quoque Daphnis P γac.

„ Aen. IV 214 reppulit ac dominum *Aeneam in* regna recepit R *c*.

„ „ IX 702 tum *Meropen atque* Erymanta manu, tum sternit Aphidnum R.

„ „ IX 762 principio *Phalarin et* succiso poplite Gygen P γ.

„ „ XI 243 uidimus, o ciues, *Diomeden Argiuaque* castra MPR γ.

Hor. carm. I 6 15 nigrum *Merionem aut* ope Palladis D δλιπα.
„ serm. I 7 12 Hectora *Priamidem animosum* atque inter Achillem R *vuv.*
Ouid. met. VI 98 qui superest solus *Cinyram*[1] *habet* angulus orbum M.
„ „ VI 470 ulterius iusto, *Prognem ita* uelle ferebat M.
„ „ VI 707 *Orithyiam amans* fuluis amplectitur alis MN.
„ „ X 169 dum deus *Europam immunitamque* frequentat (i.e. *Eurotam*) MN λ.
„ fast. II 147 en etiam si quis *Boream horrere* solebat A (= R).
„ „ III 582 paruus ager, *Camerem incola* turba uocat A.
„ „ IV 475 Himeraque et *Didymaem Acragantaque* Tauromenumque A.
„ ex Pont. I 1 35 fert liber *Aeneadem et* non iter omne patebit A.
Manil. II 32 *Erigonem ictuque* Nepam spolioque Leonem GLM.
„ IV 646 namque inter *Boream ortumque* aestate nitentem L.
Sen. Tro. 11 tepidum rubenti *Tigrim inmiscet* freto E.
Val. Fl. VI 207 *Tyndaridem incendit* amor, simul obuius hastam V.
Stat. Theb. III 392 excipite *Oenidem animosaque* pectora laxet PC.
„ „ X 917 *Inarimem Aetnamue* putes. pudet ista timere P ante corr.
„ „ XI 666 *Oedipoden extimuit* paulum seseque minorem P.
Mart. VI 11 9 ut praestem *Pyladem aliquis* mihi praestet Oresten TX.

In all these verses the metre commanded the scribes to write the true form, and they disobeyed it and wrote the false. What do we suppose they did in verses where the metre gave them up to their own hearts' lusts and let them follow their own imaginations? How will the mice play when the cat is away, if they sport like this under her very whiskers?

[1] M in fact has *cyniram*, but here and elsewhere I disregard irrelevant errors.

If therefore we depended on the spelling of MSS for our knowledge of the form assumed in Latin by the Greek acc. termination -ην in masculine words of the 1st declension, we should be condemned to much uncertainty. But the same agency which reveals our plight will mend it; and truth can be established, as falsehood is exposed, by the hitherto neglected evidence of metre[1].

A good many years ago I drew up for my own instruction and guidance a list of those places in classical Latin poetry, from Lucretius to Juvenal, where the inflexions of Greek proper names are disclosed and certified by the verse. Since that time the witness of metre has been adduced for some forms, though not for these accusatives, in the 3rd edition, published in 1902, of the 1st volume of Neue's Formenlehre, and it has also been noted in the instalments of the thesaurus linguae Latinae from 1900 onward. Moreover there have appeared three special treatises upon Greek nouns in Latin poetry: one in 1903 by Mr L. Sniehotta, 'de uocum Graecarum apud poetas Latinos dactylicos ab Enni usque ad Ouidi tempora usu' (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen IX 2); one in 1908 by Mr H. Leimeister, 'die griechischen Deklinationsformen bei den Dichtern Persius, Martialis und Juvenalis' (Inaugural-Dissertation, Munich); and one in 1909 by Mr C. A. Zwiener, 'de uocum Graecarum apud poetas Latinos ab Ouidi temporibus usque ad primi p. Chr. n. saeculi finem usu' (Bresl. philol. Abh. IX 6).

Of these three, Mr Leimeister has chosen the narrowest field and consequently the easiest task; but that is not the only reason why his work is so much the best done. He understands, and the other two do not understand, the importance of the testimony of metre; and he has sorted his examples into

[1] The union of negligence and ignorance with which the question is treated may be seen at the foot of p. ccxxi in Mr Birt's Claudian. He cites, without a word upon the metrical evidence, many such accusatives as *Euphraten* and as *Phoeben*, and then adds 'contra sunt: *Orontem*, *Niphatem*, *Achillem*, *Orestem*, *Adonidem*; quibus exemplis etiam *Syenem* defendi possit'. With such forms as *Orontem*, acc. of Ὀρόντης, gen. -ου, he mixes up *Adonidem*, acc. of Ἄδωνις, gen. -ιδος, and *Achillem*, acc. of *Achilles*, which corresponds to Ἀχιλλεύς, gen. -έως; and with this mixture he defends *Syenem*, acc. of Συήνη, gen. -ης.

two classes, those which are metrically certain and those which are not. But he has hardly attempted to draw conclusions from the facts thus collected and arranged, and his lists are not always complete nor his classification accurate. Thus on p. 18, under the heading 'Griech. *-ā* zu lat. *-ă* gekürzt,' he gives *Scyllă* and *Stheneboeă*, which have *-ă* in Greek, and *Pontiă* from Mart. II 34 6 (he omits Iuu. VI 638), which is a Roman gentile name of Italian origin; on the next page he adds *Maniă*, by which he means *Manneia*, and mistakes the *Nastam* of Mart. IX 87 5 for a feminine; he gives *Amphion* and *Echion* under 'griechisch *-ων*, *-ωνος*,' *Oedipoden* under nouns of the 3rd declension and *Archigene* under nouns of the 1st.

Mr Sniehotta's dissertation is an imposture. The title promises a treatise on Greek words in Latin dactylic poetry from Ennius to Ovid; but as early as p. 2 we discover that he has forgotten to include the appendix Vergiliana and the elegies on Maecenas. Then on p. 5 he casually remarks that he means to ignore all Ovid except the metamorphoses, whence it inevitably follows that his account of Ovid's usage is falsified throughout: on p. 71, for instance, he represents that Ovid never uses the Greek dat. plur. in *-σιν*, whereas the fact is that Ovid uses it three times, if not four. But even the metamorphoses are too much for Mr Sniehotta's industry, as indeed are the works of most other authors. On p. 35 he professes to enumerate Ovid's plural accusatives in *-ăs*, and (while including *Cecropidās*) omits not only all which do not occur in the metamorphoses but more than a dozen which do, *Corycidas*, *Curetas*, *Cycladas*, *Cythereiadas*, *Echinadas*, *Hesperidas*, *Lelegas*, *Mnemonidas*, *Paeonas*, *Peneidas*, *Phorcidas*, *Pleiadas*, *Proetidas*, and *Sicelidas*; just as he omits the *lampadas* of Lucretius, the *Arabas* of Catullus, the *delphinas* of Virgil, the *Seras* of Horace, the *Cilicas* of Tibullus, and the *Hamadryadas* of Propertius. It is the same everywhere: he says on p. 7 that the only examples later than Lucilius of the nom. *-a* for Greek *-ης* or *-ας* are Horace's *Marsya* and Propertius' *Atrida*; on p. 53, without correcting this statement, he contradicts it, and cites *Marsya* from Ovid; but he never discovers that Ovid also used *Aeeta*, and used it in the metamorphoses. He says on p. 18 that the

nom. plur. *-es*, answering to the Greek -ες, is always short before a vowel: Lucilius in that position has *clamidēs* and Lucretius *panacēs*. He pretends on p. 19 to record the examples of *-ĕs* before a vowel in Virgil, and omits *delphinĕs, Gorgonĕs, Oreadĕs,* and *Oceanitidĕs,* not to mention *aclydĕs*; in Horace, and omits *Serĕs*; in Propertius, and omits *Nereidĕs*; in Ovid, and omits *Belidĕs, Cadmeidĕs, delphinĕs, lampadĕs, Naidĕs, Nereidĕs,* and *Propoetidĕs* from the metamorphoses alone. On the same page he says 'illius generis genetiuis quod Graeci per *-ov* terminant, poetae Romani *-i* terminationem uel *-ae* dederunt. itaque *Aeneae Anchisae Olympi Tityri* dixerunt.' Of the poets 'ab Enni usque ad Ouidi tempora' one certainly said *Geryonai*, another certainly said *Xerxis* and *Araxis*, and a third is generally and with good reason believed to have said *Alyattei*. One turns therefore to the chapter 'de nominibus incertis' on p. 36 to see if these forms are mentioned there. No, nor anywhere else.

I will not pursue Mr Sniehotta through his whole treatise, but from p. 22 I will take one diverting sample of the temper in which it is composed. Lachmann at Lucr. IV 602, collecting from the MSS of Catullus examples of the old Latin spelling *-ei* for *-i*, includes 64 278 'e uertice *Pelei*.' If you learn nothing else at Breslau, you learn to differ from Lachmann; so Mr Sniehotta remarks 'Lachmannus falso hunc genetiuum *Pelei* cum illo ueterum *Romulei* adaequare mihi uidetur. nam nomina quae exeunt in *-eus, -e* uocalem terminationis *-ei* iam in nominatiuo habent.' That is to say, *Pelei* is the genitive of *Peleus*. The verses of Catullus are these:

> quorum post abitum princeps e uertice Pelei
> aduenit Chiron portans siluestria dona.

Chiron and his nosegay, according to Mr Sniehotta, came cantering down to the wedding from the top of the bridegroom's head.

Mr Sniehotta's work is therefore thoroughly untrustworthy; but on the other hand he makes several just remarks and holds many correct opinions: in particular he recognises and declares that the accusatives *Achillen* and *Vlixen* are barbarisms which ought to disappear from the texts of the classics.

Mr Zwiener's task is so much the heaviest of the three, and his treatise is so much the most laborious and elaborate, that I am loth to say, as say I must, that all his work wants doing over again. Mr Zwiener possesses those good qualities which we look to find in the German race, a race to which Mr Sniehotta belongs neither by name nor by nature: he is zealous, industrious, and enduring; but he is unpractised in the business to which he has set his hand, and uninstructed in the art of thinking. I will mention, as shortly as may be, the principal causes of his failure.

In the first place, he has not always resorted to the right editors,—in Valerius Flaccus, for instance, he has neglected the only adequate apparatus, Thilo's; in Manilius, instead of Bechert, who can generally be trusted, he has used the treacherous editions of Jacob and Breiter,—and he has not always mastered the notation of the editors to whom he resorts. For example on p. 111 he cites '*Hermogenem* (Sen. epigr. 38 2: V *-en*),' as if all MSS but one gave *-em*: he does not know that V is the only MS which contains this poem, and that *Hermogenem* is nothing but the conjecture of a single editor.

Secondly, he often commits the much graver fault of quoting a text without looking at the notes. On p. 90 he cites *Zeuxidem* from Phaedr. V prol. 7: turn to the MSS and you find *exaudiant*. On p. 72 he cites *Scorpion* from Manil. II 552. It is true that the words *tum Scorpion acrem* are to be found in Jacob's text; but they are not to be found anywhere else, for the MS reading is *geminumque sub arcu*.

Thirdly,—and in one who undertakes to write about Greek forms this third defect is no less strange than fatal,—he does not know Greek. Among nouns 'quorum nominatiuus in *-ης*, genetiuus in *-ου* excurrit' he quotes *Demosthenes*, *Hippomenes*, *Archigenes*, *Menogenes*, *Hermocrates*, *Menecrates*, and *Aristoteles*. Among those 'quorum nominatiuus Graecus in *-ης*, genetiuus in *-ους* exit' he quotes *Alcibiades*, *Euclides*, *Euripides*, *Simonides*, *Herodes*, *Brontes*, *Orontes*, *Mithridates*, *Xerxes*, and the Latin adjective *Hispellatem*.

Fourthly there is the question of metre, upon which he has spent much pains, and brought them all to naught by an

amazing piece of perversity. In making his collections he has noted for himself, not always accurately, which forms are certified,—or, as he prefers to say, 'postulatae,'—by the metre and which are not; and on pp. 180—8 he has drawn up a table (in which appellatives are vexatiously ignored and only proper names regarded) to show how many times each termination is so certified in each author. But the table does not inform us what the words are to which these terminations belong, nor in what verse of the author they are to be found. It states for instance that the places in the Ilias Latina where the acc. plur. *-ăs* is required by metre are three in number. The statement is not true, and if it were true it would leave us ignorant of what we want to know.

Mr Zwiener's phrase 'formae metri necessitate *postulatae*' is the key to his attitude. His interest in the subject is humanitarian rather than scientific, and he looks upon metre, not as a source of enlightenment to us, but as a source of embarrassment to the poets. A poet, to his apprehension, is the slave, and the reluctant slave, of the measure in which he has imprudently chosen to write; and the practice of versification much resembles the old age prophesied to St Peter: *thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.* If the metre assures us that a poet used one form, Mr Zwiener infers that he would rather have used another. Martial, who is fond of Greek inflexions, and cannot be proved to have used the ending *-im* at any place, writes *Baetin amat* at IX 61 2; Juvenal, who like the other satirists shows some preference for Latin forms, and cannot be proved to have anywhere used the ending *-in*, writes *Alcestim et* at VI 653. But that is not how Mr Zwiener puts it: he says on p. 167 that Martial 'Graece flexit *Baetin* ut elisionem euitaret,' and that Juvenal 'Latina forma *Alcestim* usus est, quod uersus ratio elisionem postulabat'; as if Juvenal or anyone else were unable to bring *Alcestin* into hexameters, and as if Martial, approaching the end of his pentameter, suddenly bethought himself that *Baetim* was an awkward word for the place. Of the poet as thus conceived one may well say with Horace 'non satis apparet cur uersus factitet'; and

Mr Zwiener, absorbed in pity and concern, has no attention to spare for the lessons which metre all the while is trying to teach him. Accordingly, when the MSS present this form of a word or that, he solicitously begins to enquire *why* the poet used it, without first enquiring *whether* he used it; and he can generally find a reason. Thus in the verse of the siluae from which this disquisition started he says on p. 147 that Statius (for he is sure it was Statius and not the scribe) first wrote *Steropem* for *Steropen* because the next word began with a labial, and then wrote *Brontem* for *Bronten* because—in for a penny, in for a pound.

These three treatises therefore leave not only the question of these accusatives, but most other questions touching the Greek forms used by the Latin poets, very much as they were. Mr Zwiener has provided a large and untrustworthy collection of examples, Mr Leimeister a smaller and more accurate collection, Mr Sniehotta not even so much as this. And yet several of these questions, and the present among them, can be settled once for all, so soon as ever the weapon of metre is put into the hands of reason.

In Latin poetry from Lucretius to Juvenal the accusative termination of nouns of the 1st declension having their nominative in *-es* is revealed by metre in the following passages.

Verg. Aen. III 82 *Anchisen agnoscit*, 295 *Priamiden Helenum*, 710 *Anchisen hic*, V 372 *Buten immani*, 456 *Daren ardens*, VI 123 *Alciden et*, VIII 677 *Leucaten*[1] *auro*, IX 647 *Buten hic*, 696 *Antiphaten is*, 774 *Aeoliden et*, XI 691 *Buten auersum*, XII 290 *Aulesten auidus*.

Hor. carm. I 6 15 *Merionen aut*, 15 21 *Laertiaden exitium*, 16 17 *Thyesten exitio*, 28 10 *Panthoiden iterum*, II 9 10 *Mysten ademptum*, III 7 5 *Gygen ille*, IV 15 31 *Anchisen et*, serm. I 7 12 *Priamiden animosum*.

Prop. II 1 38 *Ixioniden ille*, IV 6 84 *Euphraten ad*.

Ouid. her. I 113 *Laerten ut*, amor. II 1 12 *Gygen et*, III 9 25 *Maeoniden a*, art. II 407 *Thyestiaden animo*, III 17 *Phylaciden et*, rem. 589 *Pyladen aliquem*, met. V 79 *Actoriden Erytum*, VII 77 *Aesoniden extincta*, 672 *Aeoliden ignota*, IX 140 *Amphitryoniaden Iolen*, XII 433 *Oleniden a*, 600 *Peliden arcus*, XIII 257

[1] Mr Sniehotta, p. 27, mistakes this for a feminine.

Iphitiden et, XIV 161 *Achaemeniden inprouiso*, fast. II 318 *Alciden instruit*, IV 76 *Oeniden Apule*, V 307 *Tantaliden eadem*, 565 *Iliaden umeris*, VI 465 *Euphraten aquilas*, trist. I 1 47 *Maeoniden et*, 9 28 *Pyladen ipse*, V 4 26 *Aegiden Euryalumque*, V 6 26 *Pyladen improba*, ex Pont. I 1 35 *Aeneaden et.*

Sen. Phaed. 58 *Araxen et*, Ag. 931 *Oresten ac.*

Luc. VIII 214 *Euphraten et*, X 33 *Euphraten Indorum.*

Val. Flacc. I 286 *Aeoliden aeuum*, III 65 *Alciden et*, 152 *Broten Abarimque*, 662 *Alciden ad*, IV 62 *Alciden in*, 738 *Aesoniden omnem*, V 366 *Ampyciden astro*, 529 *Persen illinc*, 574 *Alciden infando*, 685 *Aeeten inopis*, VI 207 *Tyndariden incendit*, 638 *Arinen Olbumque.*

Il. Lat. 74 *Atriden et*[1].

Sil. II 60 *Macen et*, 161 *Sacen a*, VII 598 *Buten et*, XV 468 *Dracen extrema.*

Stat. Theb. I 686 *Gangen aut*, III 392 *Oeniden animosa*, IV 113 *Oeniden hilarem*, 387 *Gangen aut*, 571 *Aeoliden umero*, V 407 *Tyndariden iterans*, VI 312 *Amphitryoniaden alto*, VIII 242 *Oedipoden exisse*, 438 *Iasiden arcu*, IX 253 *Astyagen euasurum*, 270 *Tagen ingenti*, 293 *Thespiaden eadem*, X 647 *Amphitryoniaden exutum*, 748 *Oeniden aut*, Ach. I 157 *Alciden et*, silu. II 1 112 *Oebaliden illo*, III 1 83 *Alciden humili*, 2 136 *Euphraten et*, IV 2 49 *Gangen Indis*, V 3 130 *Maeoniden aliae*, 194 *Aeaciden alio.*

Mart. VI 11 9 *Pyladen aliquis*, VII 24 3 *Pyladen odisset.*

C. I. L. II 1293 (Buech. carm. epigr. 1103) 1 *Pyladen haec.*

Ninety-one examples of *-en* attested by metre, forty-seven of which are patronymics: how many examples of *-em*? None. Chance will not account for this: the metrical properties of such forms do not unfit them for employment in elision: *Italiam* and *Europam* and *Creontem* are elided freely, and if *Aesonidem* and *Euphratem* and *Thyestem* were available there was nothing to hinder their appearance in such connexions as

[1] I have no doubt that the Ilias Latina once contained a second example. At 628 'et prior *Aiacem aurato* munerat ense' one MS of little weight offers *deaurato* to mend the metre, and another *falcato*. Write *Aeaciden aurato*: so at 368 two MSS have the gloss *Aiacem* where the rest have *Aeaciden*, and in Stat. Theb. v 731 the first hand of P wrote *amfiaraus* for *Oeclides.*

Aesonidem agnoscunt or *Euphratem et Tigridos arua* or *Phoebus Thyestem et impias mensas fugit.* If, in so many tens of thousands of verses, not one of them ever appears, that means that they were not in currency. Contrast the state of affairs in the old scenic poetry, where the acc. in *-em*, belonging rather to the 5th than to the 3rd declension, was normal: there, though Greek nouns are so much fewer than in the classical poets, its existence is disclosed by metre, Plaut. pseud. 991 *Polymachaeroplagidem elocutus*, Ter. hec. 432 *Callidemidem hospitem*, Acc. incert. ap. schol. Bern. georg. I 502 (frag. trag. Ribb. ed. 3 p. 255) *Anchisem edidit.*

It is further to be considered that the spelling of MSS, though insufficient to establish this conclusion, tends nevertheless to confirm it; for in the greater number of the better witnesses the termination *-en* is much the commoner. In Virgil the only instance where *-em* has more MS authority is the acc. of *Orontes*, Aen. I 113 *-en* R, *-em* M γb, VI 334 *-en* P, *-em* MR γbc; and here the scale is turned by the express testimony of Charisius that Virgil wrote *Oronten*. To many places in other authors the true forms have gradually been restored, not by any exercise of observation or reason on the part of editors, but simply in obedience to better MSS as they are one after another discovered and collated.

Lastly the proof is clinched, not indeed by the testimony, but by the eloquent silence of grammarians. Charisius G. L. K. I p. 41, discussing Greek nouns of the 1st decl. which take in Latin the genitive of the 3rd, has nothing to say about their accusatives; Priscian, treating of the same subject G. L. K. II pp. 245—8, mentions one accusative only, and that is the *Callidemidem* of Terence; the anon. Bern. G. L. K. suppl. p. 97 has 'hunc Anchisem uel Anchisen,' but we have found his *Anchisem* in Accius. More significant still are the words of Charisius G. L. K. I p. 20: 'hic Oronta, cum Latine reformatur, et hunc Orontam dicimus. nam, si non reformetur, Oronten poterimus dicere, ut Vergilius *fidumque uehebat Oronten*.' He knows two accusatives, *Orontam* from the Latin *Oronta* and *Oronten* from the Greek *Orontes*, but of any third contemporaneous form he shows no knowledge whatsoever.

Out of the many other cases in which metre reveals the usage of the poets I propose now to consider only three or four. I pass over most of those in which their usage is revealed as varying; where different poets prefer different forms, or the same poet employs now one and now another; such cases as the acc. and neut. nom. *-ŏn* or *-um* in the 2nd declension, the acc. *-in* (*-yn*) or *-im* (*-ym*), the acc. *-a* or *-em*, and the nom. *-ōn* or *-o* in the 3rd. I shall deal rather with cases where there is a right way and a wrong; where, although two forms are admitted into modern texts, the evidence of the verse shows more or less decisively that ancient poets used only one. But before I quit the declension of those nouns whose accusatives I have been discussing I must say a word or two on their genitives. The witness of metre is not here decisive nor even in any large measure available; but the subject requires a more minute examination than it has yet received.

This question differs in more than one respect from the question of the accusative. Firstly, we are here dealing with two forms which are both attested as correct by ancient grammarians: I say two, not three, because the old gen. in *-i*, though certainly sometimes employed, is metrically indistinguishable from the form in *-ae*, and is seldom presented by our MSS except in Virgil, so that the choice lies mainly between the terminations *-ae* and *-is*. Secondly, the substitution by a scribe of *ae* for *is* or of *is* for *ae* is by no means so common and easy an occurrence as the confusion of *en* with *em*; and therefore the spelling of the MSS can no longer be treated as negligible.

Apart from the archaic *Geryonai* of Lucr. v 28 and the *Alyattei* restored by conjecture to Hor. carm. III 16 41, there are eight places where the inflexion is made known by the metre.

Verg. Aen. v 664 *Anchisae ad*, Val. Flacc. VII 464 *Aesonidae et*[1], Sil. XV 302 *Leucatae et*[2].

[1] Horace serm. II 1 72 has *Scipiadae et*, but that is rather from *Scipiadas* or possibly *Scipiada*.

[2] That this belongs to Λευκάτης and not Λευκάτας is clear from the acc. *Leucaten* Verg. Aen. VIII 677 and Sen. Phaed. 1014.

Prop. II 1 22 *Xerxis et*, III 12 8 *Araxis aquam*, Manil. IV 51 *Mithridatis opes*, Luc. II 637 *Pharnacis arma*, X 476 *Pharnacis et.*

Aesonidae is a patronymic, and in patronymics it is clear that *-is* was barbarous: in the MSS, so far as I have observed, it has no existence; for *Aeacidis* at Sen. Tro. 46 is a conjecture of Scaliger's, and the *Belidis* of Cinna's verse 'iam inde a Belidis natalique urbis ab anno,' which Charisius G. L. K. I p. 124 mistakes for gen. sing., is abl. plur.[1].

The five examples of *-is* belong also to a single class: they are not native Greek words, but eastern words which travelled through Greece on their way to Rome. And this is one of the two classes in which, according to Priscian G. L. K. II p. 246, the gen. of the 3rd decl. was especially frequent: 'in barbaris' he says, and *Mithridatis* is one of his instances. In other places too our MSS give the gen. *-is* to nouns of this class: *Herodis* (this is a Greek name, but not the name of a Greek) Hor. epist. II 2 184 and Pers. V 180, *Hydaspis* Petron. 123 239, to which may be added the *Drancis* of Verg. Aen. XII 644, though that is not an eastern but a western name. But the gen. *-ae* is also found, *Cambysae* Prop. II 26 23, *Euphratae* Stat. Theb. VIII 290, silu. II 2 122, and is likewise attested by Priscian, who gives *Mithridatae* and *Tigranae* beside *Mithridatis* and *Tigranis*.

Of the other class in which Priscian tells us that the gen. *-is* was commonest, proper names like *Thucydides* which have the form of patronymics, the poets contain very few examples, since these are the names of persons whom they seldom have occasion to mention. The only genitive of the class which I have anywhere observed is *Simonidis* in Phaedr. IV 23 20. This is not certified by metre, nor can the practice of other poets be safely inferred from Phaedrus, who is nearer to prose than any of them, and shows a clear preference for vernacular forms. Therefore in Ouid. Ib. 415, where the nom. *Achaemenides* is given by the MSS but the gen. seems to be required by the sense, it is impossible to say for certain whether the form of that gen. should be *Achaemenidis* or *Achaemenidae*; for both *Aristidis* and

[1] The late date of anth. Lat. Ries. 184 (P. L. M. Baehr. IV p. 156) is as well proved by the *Alcidis* of u. 1 as by the *salūbrem* of u. 8.

Aristidae are attested by Charisius G. L. K. I p. 41 as occurring 'apud ueteres auctores,' and on pp. 67 sq. he gives *Miltiadis* and *Alcibiadis* on the one hand, but *Dioscuridae* on the other, as the regular forms. If, in quest of analogy, we look round for datives, there is a similar dearth of examples, for I have found none except *Pyladi* in Mart. X 11 2 and 3; and in datives it is obvious that the metre can bear no witness to the form.

Thus we have passed in review three classes: patronymics, whose gen. seems to have been always *-ae*; barbarous names, whose gen. was either *-ae* or *-is*; and proper names of patronymic form, as to which there is no sufficient evidence. Now we come to a fourth class, the main body of proper names in this declension; and here the vast preponderance of MS testimony is in favour of *-ae*. To take the five nouns of this class which occur oftenest, *Aeetes Anchises Bootes Orestes Thyestes*, the following list may not be exhaustive, but it is long enough. *Aeetae* gen. Ouid. her. VI 50, ex Pont. III 1 120, Phaedr. IV 7 12, Sen. Med. 179, 468, Val. Fl. IV 14, VI 22, Sil. VIII 498; dat. (I add the dative because of its analogy) Sen. Med. 571, Val. Fl. V 289, 401. *Anchisae* gen. Verg. Aen. II 300, IV 351, 427, V 31, 99, 535, 664, 723, VIII 156, X 534, Hor. carm. saec. 50, Ouid. her. VII 162, met. IX 425, XIII 679, Luc. IX 971, Iuu. VII 234; dat. Verg. Aen. I 617, V 652, IX 647, Sil. XV 59. *Bootae* gen. Ouid. art. II 55, Luc. II 722, Mart. IV 3 5, VIII 21 3, Iuu. V 23. *Orestae* gen. Ouid. trist. I 9 27; dat. Ouid. amor. II 6 15, ex Pont. II 3 45, Mart. VI 11 3. *Thyestae* gen. Hor. art. 91, Ouid. Ib. 545, Pers. V 8, Sen. Tro, 341, Ag. 293, Mart. III 45 1, X 35 6, XI 31 2, Iuu. VIII 228; dat. Luc. VII 451. To set against these forty genitives in *-ae* I find only two genitives in *-is*, Ouid. her. VIII 7 'surdior ille freto clamantem nomen *Orestis* (*-es* P originally) | traxit' and 113 'saepe Neoptolemi pro nomine nomen *Orestis* | exit.'

Now except Verg. Aen. V 664 and Sil. XV 302 there is not a single place where the form can be determined by the positive evidence of metre. But this very lack of positive evidence has itself a certain amount of negative force. If the poets thought themselves at liberty to use *Orestis* and *Thyestis* and *Bootis*, why, in dactylic poetry, are the genitives of these names con-

fined to the end of the hexameter? *Araxes* is a far less common name than any of the three, yet its genitive *Araxis*, the metrical counterpart of *Orestis*, is used, as you might expect, in a position where an amphibrachys is useful, Prop. III 12 8 'potabis galea fessus *Araxis* aquam.' The Latin names *Achilles* and *Vlixes* (for Latin they are, not Greek) possess genitives of this form among others, and those genitives are utilised: Ouid. her. I 84 'Penelope coniunx semper *Vlixis* ero,' ex Pont. I 3 74 'Thessalicamque adiit hospes *Achillis* humum,' Stat. Ach. I 474 'nomen *Achillis* amant.' Nay in post-classical verse *Bootis* and *Orestis* themselves appear in such positions: anth. Lat. Ries. 761 44 (P. L. M. Baehr. V p. 381) 'laeua *Bootis* inest,' Dracont. Or. trag. 948 'posset *Orestis* opus legali tramite quaeri'; but the poet who uses *Bootis* uses *Arctophylaca*, and the poet who uses *Orestis* uses *Orestĕs*. Still, one must not allow undue weight to such considerations, and 17 examples are perhaps too small a number on which to base an inference: it is worth noticing that in Auienus, where the gen. of *Bootes* occurs ten times and is always spelt *Bootis*, it yet stands only at the end of the verse.

But on the other hand it is impossible to put much trust in the scribes at the two places in Ovid where they write *Orestis*: we know them to be capable of writing this form where the poet wrote the other, for we sometimes catch them in the act. At Mart. III 45' 1 the best of the MSS give *Thyestae* but the most of them *Thyestis*, and at Ouid. Ib. 545 *Thyestae* is found in the four best but *Thyestis* in the three next best. If the scribes neglect the office of corruption the modern editor has been known to step forward in their stead; and at Ouid. trist. I 9 27, where most MSS have 'de comite Argolici postquam cognouit *Orestae*' and L by a very natural error *Orestes*, Mr Ehwald proposes *Orestis*. Heinsius with much better judgment altered *Orestis* to *Orestae* in her. VIII 7 and 113, at the former of which places the best MS offers *Orestes*. But it deserves notice that these two lonely examples of the ending *-is* occur in the epistle of Hermione, which is not Ovid's: and its author, if he was capable of the elision *Castori Amyclaeo*, unparalleled except in Lucilius, Catullus, the satires of Horace,

and Priap. Verg. 3 7, may also be thought capable of nonconformity in the declension of nouns.

For a dative in *-i* there is a little more evidence. Against the ten examples of *-ae* already cited there stand three of the other form: *Oresti* Ouid. her. VIII 57 (Hermione again) and Ib. 527, *Thyesti* Ib. 359. Here metre can have nothing to say, and the only objection to *-i* is the analogy of the genitive and the other cases, which all follow the 1st declension. But just as the attack has here less force, so also has the defence. *ae*, written *e*, is more easily corrupted to *i* than to *is*, and *Oresti* in a MS is less of an obstacle than *Orestis* to believing that the author wrote *Orestae*. And here again we can watch the scribes at work: Ouid. ex Pont. II 3 45 *Orestae* codd. meliores, *Oresti* codd. plures, Mart. VI 11 3 ditto, Hor. carm. III 7 15 *Bellerophontae* meliores, *Bellerophonti* plures. Nay they are are prepared for bolder enterprises than this, and even metre will not restrain their warfare upon the 1st declension: they reform the vocative also to suit their own taste, Ouid. met. V 242 'rector, *Polydecta*, Seriphi,' *Polidecte* codd., trist. I 5 22 'furiae, tristis *Oresta*, tuae,' *Oreste* codd., Mart. IV 49 4 'cenam, crude *Thyesta*, tuam,' *Thyeste* codd. (Mr Lindsay, being a child of the age, says 'fortasse recte'). In the Ibis therefore Heinsius judiciously overrode the MSS and wrote *Thyestae* at 359 and *Orestae* at 527; and at her. VIII 57 the dative in *-ae*, like the genitive at 7 and 113, was rightly restored by him, unless the forms in *-i* and *-is* are part of the spuriousness of the epistle.

In Juvenal on the other hand *Bellerophonti* at X 325 may be defended as the dat. not of *Bellerophontes* but of *Bellerophon*; for although this nom. does not appear in Latin till long after Juvenal, in Greek it is at any rate as old as Theocritus. This defence, by the way, will not protect the acc. *Bellerophontem* in Hor. carm. IV 11 28 and Manil. V 97; for the acc. of *Bellerophon* in Manilius and in Horace's odes would be *Bellerophonta* unless metre forced the poets to use the Latinised form. Still less can *Lycophontem* be thus maintained at Stat. Theb. II 610; for *Lycophon*, whose acc. in Statius would be *Lycophonta*, is a mere invention of Statius' editors: the name *Lycophontes* we know from Homer.

Before I leave these nouns in *-es* there is one more on which a word wants saying. The son of Chrysaor and Callirhoe had three heads, three bodies, and three names. The oldest, Γηρυονεύς, the Latin poets did not borrow, but they borrowed the other two, Γηρυόνης of the 1st decl. and Γηρυών of the 3rd. In the only five places where metre lets us know which form was used, we find *Geryones* at Ouid. her. IX 92 and Sil. XIII 201 and *Geryonai* at Lucr. V 28, but *Geryon* at Sen. H. f. 487 and H. O. 26. There remain thirteen places where the metre tells no tales, and in three of them the declension cannot even be discovered from the spelling, the abl. *Geryone extincto* in Verg. Aen. VII 662 and Sil. I 277, and the acc. plur. *Geryonas* in Sen. epigr. 38 2 (anth. Lat. Ries. 428, P. L. M. Baehr. IV p. 72): so that ten are left in which it becomes a question which form was used. To take Seneca first, the only poet whom we know to have used *Geryon*, he, if we believe his best MS, adhered to the 1st decl. except when metre drove him to the 3rd[1]; for E has the gen. *Geryonae* at H. f. 1170 and Ag. 841 and the dat. *Geryonae* at H. O. 1900: the other MSS give the variant *Geryonis* in the first place, *Geryonei* in the second, none in the last. In the dactylic poets, who cannot be proved to have used *Geryon* at all, we shall also expect to find the oblique cases of *Geryones*; and the gen. *Geryonae* is attested by the MSS at Sil. III 422 and by M and P and Seruius at Verg. Aen. VIII 202, while R has *Geryoni*. In Prop. III 22 9 on the other hand the MSS have *Geryonis stabula*; and this, if correct, is the gen. of *Geryon* and not, as some editors suppose, of *Geryones*. But when one observes that this same form has been foisted by a late hand into Virgil's Medicean at Aen. VIII 202, that in Seneca the inferior copies, as I said above, have introduced it at H. f. 1170, and that in Propertius the next word begins with *s*, it is impossible to be sure that Propertius' late MSS are right and that what he wrote was not *Geryonae*. The still later MSS of Calpurnius offer *Geryonis* (with the variant *germani*) at buc. IV 41. The accusative occurs thrice: in Hor. carm. II 14 8 the form *Geryonen* is best supported, though many MSS

[1] He similarly declines *Oedipus* as follows: nom. *Oedipus*, acc. *Oedipodam*, gen. and dat. *Oedipodae*, abl. *Oedipoda*.

have *-em*; but all the important MSS of Martial have *Geryonem* at v 49 11 and most of them at v 65 12, where however the oldest offers *Geryonen*. Now if Martial used the acc. of *Geryon* he would prefer to use it in the form *Geryona*, for he loves Greek endings and does not Latinise the acc. of the Greek 3rd decl. except now and then in the names of familiar things and persons like *trigonem* and *Hermerotem*, or under metrical constraint as at III 25 3 *rhetorem Sabineium*: where such constraint is absent, as at the end of verses, he writes *endromida* (twice) and *sardonycha*. Here he could easily avoid what he disliked: in v 49 11 he could use, as we see that most poets did, the 1st declension, 'talem *Geryonen* fuisse credo,' and in v 65 12 he could end his pentameter with *Geryonen* or *Geryona*, whichever he preferred. It is clear enough that *Geryonen* ought to be restored in both places[1].

Pass now to the acc. of nouns of the 1st decl. whose nom. ends in *-as*.

The Greek termination *-an* is established by metre in the following places.

Verg. Aen. I 631 *Aenean in*, IV 214 *Aenean in*, V 223 *Gyan ipsamque*, VI 685 *Aenean alacris*, VIII 73 *Aenean et*, IX 192 *Aenean acciri*, 204 *Aenean et*, 241 *Aenean et*, 703 *Bitian ardentem*, X 65 *Aenean hominum*, 165 *Aenean armet*, 647 *Aenean auersum*, XI 910 *Aenean agnouit*.

Hor. serm. II 4 3 *Pythagoran Anyti*.

Ouid. her. VII 26 *Aenean animo*, amor. II 11 10 *Borean egelidum*, art. III 86 *Aenean Harmonianque*, 337 *Aenean altae*, met. VI 98 *Cinyran habet*, IX 229 *Lichan at*, X 169 *Eurotan inmunitamque*, XI 162 *Midan aderat*, XII 262 *Brotean et*, XIV 78 *Aenean illic*, XV 471 *Borean ouis*, fast. II 147 *Borean horrere*, V 179 *Hyan et*, 563 *Aenean oneratum*.

Manil. IV 646 *Borean ortumque*.

Sen. Tro. 841 *Borean Enispe*, H. O. 113 *Borean expulit*.

Calp. buc. III 8 *Lycidan ingrata*, 91 *Lycidan habet*.

[1] Mr Lindsay prints *Geryonen*, and then in his corrigenda directs that *Geryonem* should be substituted at v 49 11 but not at 65 12.

Luc. VI 341 *Borean habitator*, VII 364 *Borean hominum*, VIII 183 *Borean illa*, IX 695 *Borean aut*, X 289 *Borean is*.

Val. Flacc. II 4 *Pelian et*, 193 *Phlegyan et*, III 596 *Hylan et*, VII 92 *Pelian alia*.

Il. Lat. 509 *Aenean inmisso*.

Sil. XIV 389 *Borean et*[1].

Stat. Theb. II 610 *Gyan et*, V 15 *Borean imbresque*, 346 *Borean iter*, VII 6 *Borean inlabere*, IX 291 *Lichan Anthedonium*, X 589 *Tiresian alii*, silu. III 2 45 *Borean Eurumque*.

Mart. VI 71 3 *Pelian Hecubae*, XI 28 2 *Hylan hic*.

Over against these fifty-three examples of *-an* there are only two examples of *-am* similarly certified, Hor. serm. II 1 17 *Scipiadam ut* and Sil. II 111 *Bagam indignum*; and it is significant that neither of the two is a pure Greek word: *Scipiadam* is half Roman and *Bagam* half Punic. The distinction thus established by metre is on the whole maintained, even where metre is silent, by the spelling of MSS in those authors whose MSS are good. I will review the different poets separately.

In Virgil there is no dispute: the best MSS spell *Aenean*, *Bitian*, *Borean*, *Gyan*, *Hylan*, *Iarban*, *Idan*, *Iollan*, *Lichan*, *Menalcan*, though the Romanus often offers *-am*, once even where the metre forbids it, at Aen. IV 214. *Lucam* and *Numam* in Aen. X 561–2 are Italian names.

Horace's best MSS are not so good as Virgil's, so only two of them (DR) give *Lycidan* at carm. I 4 19, the remainder *-am*: but most editors choose the Greek form. *Menam* epist. I 7 55 is the acc. of *Mena*.

The MSS of Propertius, being late and bad, have no example of *-an*, but vary between *-am* and *-a*. Baehrens retains *-am* everywhere, I 20 52 *Hylam*, II 26 51 *Boream*, II 34 31 *Philetam*, IV 1 2 *Aeneam*, Lachmann everywhere restored *-an*; but most editors (Hertzberg, Haupt, Vahlen, Palmer, Rothstein) find both courses too monotonous, and either follow the MSS twice and desert them twice, or else retain *-am* in one place and alter it in three.

[1] Mr Zwiener, p. 184, says that there are two examples in Silius, but as he also says that there are none in Lucan and none in Manilius I am not much disturbed by his disagreement.

Ovid's MSS have *Aenean* not only five times before a vowel but three times before a consonant, her. VII 29, amor. II 14 17, met. XIV 170; yet when they once, at trist. I 2 7, present *Aeneam*, they find two editors to follow them. They have *Hyan* fast. V 179, *Idan* met. V 90, *Midan* met. XI 92, and *Thamyran* amor. III 7 62, but *Thamyram* art. III 399, which the modern editors, unlike Heinsius, accept; as they also accept *Cinyram* at met. X 343 and 438, though at VI 98, where the best MS offers the same form, the metre refutes it. At met. V 87 on the other hand, where the MSS are for *Phlegyam*, the editors are taken with a fit of disobedience or of ratiocination, and most of them write *Phlegyan*; but at XIII 726, where the MSS give *Boream*, they come to heel again. At met. IX 211 the best MS has *Idan* but the next best *Idam*; at Ib. 517 most MSS, including the best, have the ambiguous *Broteā*.

The MSS of Germanicus twice give *Borean*, phaen. 380 and 413, and twice *Boream*, 242 and 459: once, 325, they are divided.

In Manilius the MSS give *Boream* at I 314 and 566, and vary between *Boream* and *Borean* at I 372 and between *Aeneam* and *Aenean* at IV 24: Jacob and Breiter print *-am* everywhere; Mr Bechert, as usual, is a reed shaken by the codex Gemblacensis. Since *Borean* is assured by metre at IV 646, in my edition of the first book I have given the same form at I 314: the verses 372 and 566 are spurious, so their spelling does not matter.

Seneca's MSS have *Eurotan* at Ag. 281 and 319, and at H. O. 815 the best MS has *Lichan* though the rest have *-am*. At Phoen. 127 the MSS have *Eurotam* and at H. O. 809 and 978 *Licham*, but the editors have corrected them.

In Calpurnius the editors accept from the MSS not only *Boream* buc. I 75 but also *Lycidam* VI 81, though *Lycidan*, as I have said, is twice attested by the metre.

MSS and editors alike give *Midam* in Petron. frag. 28 9, but *Aenean* in Il. Lat. 472.

The MSS of Lucan have *Lycidan* at III 636 and *Borean* at IV 61 and V 543, and most of them *Borean* again at V 705; but neither that fact nor the five verses where *Borean* is required

by the metre prevent Messrs Hosius and Heitland from printing *Boream* in this one place, because it is found in their favourite codex Montepessulanus. The *Achillam* of X 350 may be defended, since Ἀχιλλᾶς is a servile name and here belongs to an Egyptian.

In Valerius Flaccus the prime authority, the Vaticanus, preserves with great constancy the termination *-an*: I 604 *Borean*, 430 *Eurotan*, III 569 (571, 596, 725, IV 18) *Hylan*, I 849 (VII 316) *Pelian*, VI 700 *tiaran*: at I 849 some inferior MSS substitute *Peliam*. The *Idam* of the corrupt passage VI 382 is probably a feminine.

In Silius all the chief MSS have *Gyan* at I 439 and *Aenean* at VIII 87, and most of them *Aenean* (as Heinsius conjectured) at II 413, *Eurotan* at IV 364, and *Borean* at XV 713, though at XIV 231 only one has *Pantagian*. *Acherram* and *Bagam*, like *Iubam* and *Micipsam*, are the names of Africans, and *Lucam* of an Umbrian.

The MSS of Statius' Thebais have *Gyan* V 223 and VII 715, *Phlegyan* I 713, VII 711, VIII 688, and *Pterelan* VII 632. Elsewhere the best MS has retained the Greek form and the others have corrupted it: III 288 *Borean* P, *-am* ω, V 405 (VII 588, IX 755) *Idan* P, *-am* ω, VIII 227 *Tiresian* P, *-am* ω. *Mithram*, presented by all at I 720, is defensible as the name of an oriental god. In the siluae the MS gives *Hylan* at II 1 113 and *Aenean* at IV 2 2.

In Martial the weight of tradition is strongly on the side of *-an*: IV 19 8 *Athan*, VI 68 8 (IX 25 7, 65 14, XI 43 5) *Hylan*, XI 60 4 *Pelian*. At II 86 8 the family whose MSS are older gives *Ladan*, the other *Ladam*; at VII 57 1 all is confusion, *Achillas*, *-ā*, *-am*, *-an*. In a servile name the form *Damam* is rightly given at VI 39 11 and XII 17 10[1].

Juvenal's MSS have *Aenean* I 162 and *Teresian* XIII 249: the *Baream* of III 116 and VII 91 is not a Greek name.

From all this evidence I infer that the poets, except in servile or barbarous names, did not use an acc. in *-am* from Greek nouns in *-as*. The Latin acc. in *-am* would in fact imply a Latin nom. in *-ā*; and such nominatives are only here and

[1] *Nastam* IX 87 5 is the acc. of *Nasta* = Νάστης.

there employed for metre's sake, as *Marsya* in hexameters and *Pelia* and *Tiresia* in iambics.

Proper names of the 3rd decl. with nom. in *-ης* are seen in Greek inscriptions to have borrowed from the 1st decl. the acc. termination *-ην* so early as the 4th century before Christ. In Latin poetry three forms of the acc., the pure Greek *-ea*, the pure Latin *-em*, and the base Greek *-en*, are certified by metre, but not in the same names nor in names of the same type. The examples are the following.

ea: *Eteoclĕă* followed by a spondee at the end of a verse in Stat. Theb. II 384, VII 539, 688, VIII 353, 687, XI 186, 268, 388. This is unique, but we may presume it to be the proper acc. of a noun in *-κλῆς*. In the gen., *Eteocleos* occurs at XII 91 and 421, but *Eteoclis* at III 214, VII 227, IX 86, XII 57.

em: Verg. Aen. XI 243 *Diomedem Argiua* (*Diomeden* MSS), Stat. Ach. II 217 *Lycomedem adfatur*. Together with these should be considered the ablatives Hor. carm. IV 4 4 *Ganymedĕ flauo*, Ouid. met. XIII 100 *Diomedĕ remoto*, 242 *Diomedĕ legi*, XIV 492 *Diomedĕ uiros*, fast. VI 43 *Ganymedĕ dolebam*, Luc. X 520 *Ganymedĕ dolis*, Il. Lat. 554 *Diomedĕ parat*, Sil. IX 63 *Diomedĕ ferentur*, Stat. Ach. I 286 *Lycomedĕ sorores*, II 27 *Diomedĕ petit*, Mart. II 43 14 *Ganymedĕ manus*, V 55 4 *Ganymedĕ loquor*, VII 74 4 *Ganymedĕ cales*, IX 22 12 *Ganymedĕ uelis*, 25 8 *Ganymedĕ licet*, 73 6 *Ganymedĕ tui*, 103 8 *Ganymedĕ Paris*, X 66 8 *Ganymedĕ coquo*, XI 22 2 *Ganymedĕ iaces*, 26 6 *Ganymedĕ Ioui*, XIII 108 2 *Ganymedĕ merum*. It appears that these words are simply nouns of the Latin 3rd declension.

en: Ouid. met. X 651 *Hippomenen adii*, 690 *Hippomenen a*, Mart. XII 82 2 *Menogenen omni*, Iuu. VI 236 *Archigenen onerosa*. To these belong also the ablatives Ouid. met. X 608 *Hippomenē uicto*, Iuu. XIII 98 *Archigenē quid*.

We have thus, apart from nouns in *-κλῆς*, two classes: compound words in *-mēdes*[1] with acc. in *-em* and abl. in *-ĕ*, and compound words in *-mĕnes* and *-gĕnes* with acc. in *-en* and abl. in *-ē*. This distinction, established by metre, is on the whole

[1] Perhaps *Polynices*, whose acc. does not occur, may be added on the strength of its abl. Stat. Theb. XII 348 *Polynicĕ fouebo*.

borne out by the spelling of the MSS. In the first class, it is true, they are undecided: *Palamedeu* appears in Ouid. met. XIII 308 and *Ganymeden* or *-ē* in Germ. phaen. 318. But when one finds the much superior MSS of Juvenal giving *Ganymedem* at V 59 and IX 22, and remembers that not even metre restrained the scribes from introducing *Diomeden* at Verg. Aen. XI 243, one need not scruple to write *Palamedem* in Ovid and *Ganymedem* in Germanicus. In the second class the MSS are less at variance: compound words whose last element has a short penultimate, *-menes*, *-genes*, *-teles*, *-crates*, and whose form or ending is choriambic, mostly have their accusatives spelt with an *n*: Prop. III 9 16 and Phaedr. V prol. 6 *Praxitelen*, catalept. 9 26 and Stat. silu. I 2 86 *Hippomenen*, Mart. VI 53 4 *Hermocraten*, Iuu. II 6 *Aristotelen*, are the readings either of all MSS or of those MSS whose orthography is the best; and in Sen. epigr. 38 2 (anth. Lat. Ries. 428, P. L. M. Baehr. IV p. 72), where editors persistently print *Herogenem*, the *heto genen* of the MS gives the true inflexion. Accordingly at Iuu. XIV 252 the *Archigenen* of most MSS should be preferred to the *Archigenem* of P; and when the late MSS of Catullus twice give *Harpocratem* at the end of a pentameter, 74 4 and 102 4, that would not deter me from writing *Harpocraten*. But outside these two classes I see nothing to guide us. The best MS authority is for *Antorem* at Verg. Aen. X 778 and 779 and *Plisthenem* at Sen. Thy. 726, but for *Dioren* at Verg. Aen. XII 509, *Euanthen* X 702, and *Nebroden* Gratt. 528, while at Stat. Theb. VI 466 P has *Podarcen* and the rest *Podarcem*.

This is the place to speak of the anomalous accusatives *Achillen* and *Vlixen*. The objection to these Greek terminations is that *Achilles* and *Vlixes* are not Greek words: at least I have met them in no Greek author and can find them in no Greek dictionary. They are Latin words, which first belonged to the 5th decl. and then passed into the 3rd, and the classical poets use the forms of both: *Achillea* at Luc. X 523 is the acc. not of *Achilles* but of Ἀχιλλεύς, though the name of the person whom Lucan means was neither the one nor the other, but Ἀχιλλᾶς. The declension of *Achilles* and *Vlixes*, so far as

metre reveals it, is the following: gen. *Achillĕī* Hor. carm. I 15 34, epod. 17 14, *Vlixĕī* Hor. carm. I 6 7, epod. 16 60, 17 16; *Achillĭs* Ouid. ex Pont. I 3 74, Sen. Tro. 940, Stat. Ach. I 474, *Vlixĭs* Ouid. her. I 84: abl. *Achillē* Ouid. ex Pont. III 3 43; *Achillĕ* Hor. serm. II 3 193 (I purposely omit Prop. IV 11 40), *Vlixĕ* Ouid. her. XIX 148. On the form of the acc. metre has nothing to say, for wherever the words occur both *-em* and *-en* are admissible[1]. To turn then to the spelling of the MSS, in Virgil, where the acc. of *Achilles* is three times found, the best are unanimous for *Achillem*, and in most other poets this form has by far the most authority. The acc. of *Vlixes* does not occur in Virgil, and in other poets the MSS are about equally divided between *Vlixem* and *Vlixen*[2]. In defence of the latter form it may be said that this acc. is no more anomalous than the vocatives *Vlixē* and *Achillē*, which, though never certified by metre (for it always admits *Vlixes* and *Achilles*), are attested (or rather *Achille* is) by Priscian G. L. K. II 277 and 288 and are well supported by MSS. Still, the vocative does not suffice to commend the accusative, for in Terence, who has the voc. *Chremē*, the acc. *Chremem* is established by metre at eun. 909 *Chremem intro*. Among the grammarians there seems to be no mention of *Vlixen*, though *Achillen* is mentioned once, apparently as the usual form, by the so-called Probus, inst. art. G. L. K. IV p. 95, writing in the fourth century.

Still less to be tolerated is the monstrous form *Palen* which figures in the texts of Calp. buc. IV 106 as the acc. of the pure Latin name *Pales*. This is not given by the MSS, nor even by half of them, but only by half of the interpolated MSS: the best have the corruption *Panem* and the residue the true form *Palem*. *Palen* in Merkel's text of Ouid. fast. IV 746 has no better authority: the best MS has *palam* and the next best rightly *Palem*. Even in the late and wretched hexameters anth. Lat. Ries. 720[a] (P. L. M. Baehr. IV p. 177) the *Palen* of

[1] In dactylic metres this is natural and almost inevitable; in the iambics and trochaics of the old scenic poets the inflexion is often detected: Plaut. merc. 488 *Achillem orabo*, Poen. 1 *Achillem Aristarchi*, Bacch. 21 and 949 *Vlixem audiui*, 962 *Vlixem ut*, Acc. Nyct. ap. Non. p. 500 (frag. trag. Ribb. ed. 3 p. 231) *Vlixem obliscar*.

[2] Mr Sniehotta, p. 40, overlooks the *Vlixem* of pan. Mess. 49 and of Varr. Eumen. ap. Non. p. 272.

u. 4 is the editors': the *palē* of the chief MS, though *et* follows, may well mean *Palem*, for the hiatus *prolem et* occurs in u. 3 and *Latium Italas* in u. 12. The *palen* which Neue I p. 477 absurdly quotes from Stat. Ach. II 441 is the acc. of the Greek common noun *πάλη*.

There is no denying that the Latin poets created bastard forms by attaching Greek elements to native stems: the patronymics *Scipiadas*, *Memmiadas*, *Apulidae*, *Tusculidae*, *Romulidae*, are well known and authenticated, and Ovid thrice, art. I 82, III 452, rem. 660, employs *Appias*, and once, fast. II 597, *Tiberinides*. But it is not the same thing to impose a Greek case-ending upon a word otherwise Latin. In Ouid. met. XIV 847 sq. the reading 'a cuius luminе flagrans | *Hersilie* (al. *Hersiliae*) crinis cum sidere cessit in auras' is neither certain nor satisfactory; and the *Hecube*, nom. and voc., which appears in so many editions at Ouid. met. XIII 422, 548, 555, Sen. Tro. 859, Ag. 648, Il. Lat. 551, 1017, has not even the MSS in its favour: the best of them everywhere except at Sen. Ag. 648 give *Hecuba*, and Bothe or Lucian Mueller has everywhere restored *Hecabe*, which the scribes changed to the more familiar Latin form because they, like Korn and Riese and Peiper and Richter and Leo, did not know that *Hecuba* is necessarily a tribrach. To come back to accusatives, Lucan would hardly have ventured to give the Italian name *Auximum* a Greek inflexion and call it *Auximon* at II 466, if he had not been emboldened by the existence of the Greek adjective *αὔξιμος*; and I cannot bring myself to believe that at fast. IV 174 Ovid wrote

Maian et Electran Taygetenque Ioui.

This juxtaposition, in one disyllabic word, of the characteristic Latin diphthong *aj* and the characteristic Greek inflexion *-av* was easily avoidable and is therefore a wanton outrage. If the inflexion is Greek the diphthong should be Greek, and the word should be written *Maean*. *Maea* is so spelt in the MSS at Cic. phaen. 36.

Those Greek nouns of the 3rd decl. whose nom. plur. ends in *-ες* and whose acc. in *-ας* are found to retain these termina-

tions in classical Latin poetry wherever we can detect the quantity of the last syllable; for both nom. and acc. are short. There is only one true exception: at the beginning of the age Lucretius, in the name of a common drug, uses the Latin form of the nom., IV 124 '*panacēs*, absinthia taetra': elsewhere at a few places the Greek ending is lengthened in caesura by poets who practise this artifice, as Verg. georg. I 138 '*Pleiadās*, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton' or Il. Lat. 790 (if the text is sound) 'acrius adsurgunt *Troés*: at Achaica bella.' But in the acc. the MSS not uncommonly offer the Latin termination *-es*; and though few editors are so ignorant of metre as to adopt this where it destroys the verse, as in Luc. I 398 *Lingones armis*, many accept it where the metre does not say them nay, and especially in the acc. plur. of *gigas*. In many editions of Ovid, perhaps in most, the acc. *gigantes* is printed at trist. II 333 and IV 7 17 and at ex Pont. IV 8 59 merely because the MSS offer it, and at fast. III 439 merely because the best part of the MSS offer it. This acc. itself is never so placed that the metre reveals its scansion; but the nom. at Sen. Thy. 1084 *gigantēs haec* is found to have the Greek and not the Latin ending, and the acc. sing. at Sil. XII 529 and Mart. IX 50 6 is found to be *gigantă*, not *gigantem*. As for analogous accusatives, I have already said that there is not a single instance where metre testifies to the Latin form; and the following is a list, possibly incomplete, of instances where metre testifies to the Greek.

Lucr. *lampadăs*. Catull. *Thyiadăs*. Verg. *Aonăs*, *Arcadăs* (4 times), *craterăs*, *Cycladăs* (2), *Cyclopăs*, *delphinăs*, *Garamantăs*, *thoracăs*, *Troăs* (2). Ciris *Cycladăs*. Culex *heroidăs*. Hor. (lyrics) *Cycladăs*, *lyncăs*, *Serăs*, *Titanăs*, *Troăs*. Tibull. *Laestrygonăs*, *lampadăs*. Prop. *heroidăs*. Ouid. *Achaidăs* (3), *Amazonăs*, *Arcadăs*, *Arethusidăs*, *Carăs* (2), *Cephisidăs*, *Cretăs*, *Curetăs*, *Cycladăs* (3), *Echinadăs*, *Erymanthidăs*, *Erytheidăs*, *Hectorăs*, *heroidăs* (3), *lampadăs*, *Leucippidăs*, *Maenadăs* (2), *Magnetăs*, *Minyeidăs*, *Naidăs* (3), *Nereidăs*, *Paeonăs* (2), *Pelopeidăs*, *Peneidăs*, *Persidăs*, *Phorcidăs*, *Pirenidăs*, *Pliadăs* (2), *Proetidăs*, *Propoetidăs*, *pyxidăs* (2), *Sirenăs*, *Sithonăs*, *Symplegadăs* (2), *Thybridăs*, *Titanăs*, *Troăs* (2). Gratt. *Serăs*. Manil. *elephantăs*, *heroăs*, *lampadăs*. Priap. *Naidăs*. Sen. *Arcadăs*

Titanăs (2), *tripodăs.* Colum. *Acheloidăs, achradăs.* Pers. *Phyllidăs.* Petr. *lampadăs, Phrygăs, Stymphalidăs.* Luc. *aspidăs, Bistonăs, Echinadăs, Garamantidăs, lampadăs* (2), *Lingonăs, typhonăs.* Aetn. *Phrygăs.* Val. Fl. *Bebrycăs, Bistonăs, Centorăs, Iazygăs, Paeonăs, Phrygăs, Pliadăs.* Il. Lat. *Nereidăs, Phrygăs* (2), *Thracăs.* Sil. *Cycladăs, dipsadăs, Garamantăs, Nasamonăs, Serăs.* Stat. *Arcadăs* (3), *Bistonăs* (2), *Calydonidăs, Colchidăs, craterăs, Curetăs, Cycladăs* (4), *Cyclopăs, delphinăs, Echinadăs, Erinyăs, gymnadăs, Hecateidăs, Helicaonăs, heroăs, heroidăs, Homoloidăs* (2), *Maenadăs, Naidăs* (3), *nebridăs* (2), *Nereidăs, Pliadăs* (2), *Serăs, thoracăs, Thracăs.* Mart. *adamantăs, Colchidăs, Gorgonăs, iaspidăs, Machaonăs, Maenadăs, platanonăs, Sirenăs, Stymphalidăs, Zenonăs.* Iuu. *Laestrygonăs, Orcadăs.*

This list enables anyone to judge whether Ovid was likely in three or four places to write *gigantes* instead of *gigantas.* Whether his scribes were likely to do so may be judged from what follows. Elsewhere in Ovid the same editors who in these places print *gigantes* accept the true form on the authority of the best MSS, but everywhere some MSS present the false. Most of them present it at fast. v 35, though the Vrsinianus has kept *gigantas.* In three verses of the metamorphoses we can study three stages of depravation: at x 150 the best MS, the Marcianus, retains *gigantas* though the next best has *-es*; at v 319 the Marcianus has *gigantas* with *e* written above the *a*; at i 152 it has *gigantes* with the *e* written in an erasure. Nor will even metre protect these Greek forms from Latinisation. The following examples, for which I have made no anxious search, are all of them places where the whole or at least the better part of the MSS present the unmetrical inflexion: Priap. 33 1 *Naĭdēs antiqui* (or, worse still, *Naiades*), Luc. i 398 *Līngŏnes armis*, Il. Lat. 342 *pulsōs Phrўgēs increpat*, 670 *hīnc Phrўgēs Aiacis*, 734 *Thrāces ĕquōs*, Ouid. met. iv 425 *Minўēĭdes alis*, ix 657 *Naĭdes his*, x 221 *Propoetĭdēs abnuat.* Add that in the tristia itself, the home and stronghold of *gigantes*, the best MS offers *Symplēgădēs ire* at i 10 47.

Outside Ovid *gigantăs* is everywhere preserved in some or even in half of the MSS, and is generally adopted by the editors,

but the false form is always to be found in some MS or other: Manil. I 421 *gigantas* M, *-es* GL, Sen. Oed. 91 *gigantas* E, *-es* A, Luc. IV 593 *gigantas* MZG, *-es* VUP, VII 145 *gigantas* MG, *-es* VUPZ, IX 656 *gigantas* PGC, *-es* MZUV, Sil. IX 309 *gigantas* LF, *-es* OV, XII 143 *gigantas* L, *-es* FOV, Mart. XI 52 17 *gigantas* β, *-es* γ.

From *gigantes* I pass to other similar accusatives which have not been extirpated from current editions of the poets[1].

In the Ilias Latina, as I said above, the scribes have imported *Phrygēs* at 342 and 670 and *Thracēs* at 734 to the ruin of the verse. And from these scribes the editors accept the accusatives *phalanges* at 392 and *Tritones* at 874 instead of altering them into *phalangas* and *Tritonas*.

Manilius is proved by metre to have used *elephantăs*, *heroăs*, and *lampadăs*, and his MSS further give *Titanas* at II 15 and *Pleiadas* at V 710. At V 142 they disagree in spelling this word, one family having *-as* and the other *-es*, and since the latter is Mr Bechert's favourite family he also must give *Pleiades*. At IV 637 all MSS have *Cyclades* (*ciclades*). Wherever this case of this word is followed by a vowel in Latin poetry, and that is twelve times, its last syllable is short and is therefore *-as*; and as for the authority of MSS, even before a vowel an unmetrical *Cȳclădēs* is offered by Ovid's Laurentianus at met. II 264 and by other MSS at fast. IV 565, while before a consonant the Romanus of Virgil, so vastly older and better than any MS of Manilius, has *Dryades* at buc. V 59 where the Palatinus has *Dryadas*. No matter; Manilius' modern editors obediently print the false form. Not Bentley though, and not Scaliger: in the 18th and the 16th century there was more knowledge abroad, or more intelligence.

The MSS of Martial present the Greek inflexion, not only before a vowel in the ten instances quoted above, but also before a consonant or at the end of a verse in *caryotidas*, *Chalybas*, *daphnonas*, *epidipnidas*, *halteras*, *Laconas*, *Olympiadas*, *Pieridas*, *pityonas*, *Platonas*, *rhetoras*, *sardonychas*.

[1] In Catull. 11 5, where Ellis and Vahlen and others persist in printing *Arabes*, the two chief MSS have respectively *Arabas* and *Arabaes*, and the tradition merely wants obeying, not correcting.

There is one exception, *paropsides* in XI 31 18, and the editors all retain it. Now if I am asked why the scribes in this single instance altered *-as* to *-es* I can easily give a plausible answer: the oblique cases of *paropsis* are almost identical in their three last syllables with the oblique cases of the Latin noun *opses* or *obses*, and the confusion hence arising has here introduced the Latin form *-opsides* or, as the best MS spells it, *-obsides*. But if the editors are asked why Martial in this single instance wrote *-es* instead of *-as*, what plausible answer can they give? It will not do to say that *paropsis* is the name of a common object and takes the inflexion used in everyday talk, for that would apply equally to *epidipnidas* in u. 7 and *caryotidas* in u. 10 of this same epigram.

A much better case might be made out for *chlamydes* in Hor. epist. I 6 40. Horace in his hexameters, like the other satirists, shows no great fondness for Greek forms, though his MSS present *Arabas* epist. I 6 6 and *heroas* serm. II 2 93. Moreover the Latin nom. *clamides* is attested by metre in Lucil. IX ap. Non. p. 67, *clamides ac barbula*, and nearer to Horace's time Lucretius, as I have said already, uses the Latin nom. *panaces* IV 124. Varro l. L. X 71 approves *Bacchides* rather than *Bacchidăs*, which he calls new-fangled (though *craterăs* is as old as Ennius), and Pliny is quoted by Charisius G. L. K. I p. 145 as disapproving *paeanas* and therefore approving *paeanes*; so there can be no doubt that *chlamydes* was often in Horace's ears, if not upon his lips. An editor therefore who retains *chlamydes*, as all editors do, cannot justly be blamed, and it will be impossible to prove that he is wrong; but if he is an observant and logical editor he will feel no assurance that he is right. The fact that the acc. sing. is always *chlamydem* and not *chlamyda* is due to the metrical inconvenience of the latter form, and will not help to decide the plural inflexion[1]; and confidence in *chlamydes* is especially undermined by two examples which at first sight may seem to strengthen it.

Firstly, in Horace's own imitator Persius we find this same acc. *chlamydes* at VI 46. Secondly, in another satirist, Juvenal,

[1] Juvenal has *endromidem* III 103 but *endromidas* VI 246.

we find at VII 11 the acc. *tripodēs* confirmed by metre, *tripodes armaria*. These three examples, it might be said, defend one another, and show that the satirists, in the names of common objects, sometimes at any rate employed the Latin inflexion. What dissolves this pretty combination is the existence of the single MS Montepessulanus 125, the best, upon the whole, of Persius' MSS, and by very far the best of Juvenal's. In Pers. VI 46 it gives, instead of *chlamydes*, the Greek acc. *chlamydas* (*clamidas*), and in Iuu. VII 11, instead of *tripodes*, the native Latin word *tripedes*, the acc. of *tripes*. Horace's *chlamydes* is thus left to stand on its own legs, and after this experience they are not a stout pair to stand on.

The verse Priap. 36 5, where the MSS have 'fronte crinitos *Arcades* uides Faunos,' is too corrupt to be worth discussing, and the form of the acc. deserves no more attention than the unmetrical '*Nāĭdēs* antiqui *Dryades*que habuere Priapi,' or the still more unmetrical *Naiades*, of the same MSS at 33 1.

This, unless I have made some oversight, concludes the list of passages where *-ēs*, unrefuted by metre, appears in lieu of the Greek termination *-ăs*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

Note on p. 259 ll. 20—22. In anth. Lat. Ries. 159 6 (P. L. M. Baehr. IV p. 310), where Catull. 74 4 is parodied, the cod. Salmasianus, fully six centuries older than the MSS of Catullus, gives 'puerum rededit *ipograten*.'

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *STROMATEIS* IV v 23.

Stromateis IV v 23. 207 Sylburg = 574 Potter.

ἔμπαλιν δὲ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς "ὁ πλοῦτος" φησί, "†πλέον θάτερον βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς ποιεῖ."

So reads Stählin in his excellent edition. His critical note runs thus: "21 *θάτερον*] *θατέρου* Sylburg <τι> *θατέρου* Meineke *ἰατροῦ* Elter [πλέον] *ἰατροῦ* <τρόπον> Mayor." In the *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1909, pp. 216, 217, Professor Cook Wilson proposes *ὁ πλοῦτος, φησὶ, πάντας καθάπερ ἰατρὸς κακὸς βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς ποεῖ*. According to Stobaeus, *Flor.* 93, 20, Antiphanes' lines were—*ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς κακός, τυφλούς, βλέποντας παραλαβών, πάντας ποιεῖ*: and, if, as is generally supposed, Clement's text is corrupt, it is obvious to look to Stobaeus' quotation for help. But I venture to think that Clement's text is perfectly sound, and that the only change necessary is to remove the modern inverted commas which now precede *πλέον θάτερον* and place them before *βλέποντας*. Having quoted Theognis' censure of *πενία*, he now quotes Antiphanes' censure of *πλοῦτος*. The word *ἔμπαλιν* marks the change of standpoint: but, to emphasize it the more, Clement adds, in apposition to Antiphanes' *ὁ πλοῦτος*, the idiomatic *πλέον θάτερον*, "which is not a good but an evil." For *πλέον θάτερον ἀπεργάζεσθαι* or *ποιεῖν* "to do more harm than good," *πλέον θάτερον εἶναι* "to be more mischievous than useful," see Plato *Phaedo* 114 E, *Euthydemus* 280 E, 297 D, and other passages cited by Wyttenbach in his excellent note on the passage from the *Phaedo*. I would write then *ἔμπαλιν δὲ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς "ὁ πλοῦτος," φησί, πλέον θάτερον, 'βλέποντας παραλαβὼν τυφλοὺς ποιεῖ'*: and I would translate—"Contrariwise, Antiphanes the comic poet says, 'Wealth'—an evil and not a good—'finds men possessed of sight and makes them blind.'"

HENRY JACKSON.

18 *January* 1910.

WERE THE LEX THORIA OF 118 B.C. AND THE LEX AGRARIA OF 111 B.C. REACTIONARY LAWS?

THIS question can of course be most satisfactorily answered in the case of the latter law because such considerable fragments of it are extant. But the two can hardly be discussed out of relation to one another, and almost certainly the same verdict whatever it may be will have to be given on both.

The Lex Agraria is written on the reverse side of the same tablet on which the Lex Acilia is engraved. This fact points to extreme economy on the part of the quaestor of the aerarium, for the inference is unmistakable, that the latter law had become obsolete, and that the tablet instead of being wasted was put to this new use. There is good reason for supposing that the Lex Acilia was superseded about 111 B.C. by the Lex Servilia of Servilius Glaucia, and internal evidence makes it practically certain that the present Lex Agraria was passed in that year. In the first place, the censors of 115 B.C. are more than once mentioned (line 21 etc.) in a way suggesting that theirs was the last censorship before the passing of the law, and therefore that it is to be dated before 109 B.C. In the second place, the consuls of 113, 112, and 111, are mentioned, while it is implied in l. 95 that the vintage in the year of the last named consuls was not yet gathered. There seems every reason therefore to identify this law with the third of the three laws referred to by Appian in i. 27. As Appian represents these three laws as successive steps in the cancelling of the agrarian legislation of the Gracchi, and as modern historians usually describe them as reactionary laws, it will be as well briefly to recall the main points about that legislation.

The three important categories of ager publicus, existing when Tib. Gracchus became tribune, were:—

1. Land let on definite leases by the censors to tenants paying an annual rent to the state, while we may perhaps include roughly under the same head the land held *in trientabulis* (l. 22) by state creditors. All this land was left untouched by the Gracchan legislation, except so far as the projected colony of Capua would have affected portions of the Ager Campanus.

2. The land occupied on the tenure called *possessio* by individual *possessores*. These possessors were not legally the owners of the land, the *dominium* still belonging to the state: but for generations their occupancy had been uninterfered with, and though theoretically, according to Appian (i. 7), they were subject to a rent of 10 % on crops, and 20 on fruits, this seems to have been very irregularly exacted, and the land had come to be regarded and in many cases treated as private property.

3. A portion of the ager publicus, probably a very considerable portion, had been granted on the same tenure of *possessio*, i.e. on terms of usufruct, to corporate colonies or municipia, consisting either of Roman citizens or Latins. We can hardly doubt that the rent of this land was exacted by the state from the municipalities, its distribution among individual possessors being the affair of the corporations. The *dominium* however belonged to the state, and the land might, like the former category, be resumed[1]. There seems no doubt that these *coloniae et municipia* are intended by Appian's phrase ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκοις πόλεσι καὶ ἰσοπολίτισιν. (Confer App. i. 10 with the Lex Agr. l. 31.) I have ventured on this and one or two other points to differ from Mr Strachan-Davidson, whom I gladly recognise as our best English authority on the whole subject. He supposes that the πόλεις ἰσοπολίτιδες are not municipia,

[1] It is sometimes urged that this land could not be resumed because it was granted to these communities by a foedus. It seems to me that the precarious character of *possessio* and the permanence of a foedus are wholly incompatible. Besides, in Lex Agr. line 31, the land is said to be given *poplice deve senati sententia*, and both these expressions preclude a foedus.

but civitates foederatae, because Appian implies that their inhabitants or the inhabitants of some of them were not Roman citizens. But surely the words of the Lex Agr. *civium Romanorum nominisve Latini* quoted by Mr Strachan-Davidson himself, prove that the term municipia was not restricted to municipia civium Romanorum. Or perhaps it would be better to say that Appian's phrase corresponds to the colonies and municipia, and includes implicitly the *pro coloniis* and *pro moinicipieis* of the lex. It is possible, though I hardly think probable, that the words of Appian, ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει may cover, as Mr Strachan-Davidson suggests, a fourth category, land belonging to Italian communities, confiscated by the state, but like that of Volaterrae after Sulla, left to those communities on sufferance.

Now putting on one side, as too uncertain and shadowy, this possible fourth category, it was the two previous classes of public land, which were directly or prospectively affected by the Lex Sempronia of 133 B.C.

It is not my object to discuss or criticise the aims of Tib. Gracchus. I am concerned with his law, only as the first step towards the settlement arrived at by the law of 111 B.C. Tiberius saw of course the growing depopulation of rustic Italy, the decay of the small farmer class, and the increasingly pauper proletariate of Rome. He saw too that the usufruct of the public land was almost exclusively in the hands not of the poor but of the rich; and that the latifundia or πέδια μακρά which were both cause and effect of the increasing slave population, in most cases included large portions of public land, the restrictions and limitations of the Licinian law of 367 B.C. being disregarded. Appian states that his object was οὐκ εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀλλ' εἰς εὐανδρίαν, but this is of course a false antithesis. The repopulation of Italy and its economic improvement were bound to go hand in hand. Augustus realised this when he declared that the Italian colonies revived or founded by him were in his lifetime *florentissimae et celeberrimae.* At any rate, the law of Tiberius revived the Licinian law, restricting the amount of land occupied by individual possessors to 500 jugera, though allowing two sons to occupy 250 jugera

apiece. All public land in excess of these limits was to be resumed by the state. It seems clear to me from the words of Appian, and the point is very pertinent in deciding on the character of the law before us, that the first intention of Tiberius was, with a view of compensation to the possessors, that these 500 jugera should become their private property. I do not see how the expression in cap. 11, *τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτῆσιν ἐς ἀεὶ βέβαιον ἑκάστῳ πεντακοσίων πλέθρων* is capable of any other interpretation. A *possessio ἐς ἀεὶ* surely involves as much contradiction as *dictator perpetuus*. But from Plutarch's account (cap. 10) it seems that this intention was not actually embodied in the law, and that owing to the obstinate resistance of the possessors, they were simply allowed to retain their precarious *possessio* of the 500 jugera. Whether for this amount, any rent, or if so, whether a quit rent or a rent pro rata, had to be paid to the state, is uncertain. In any case, the arrangement was hardly an instance of dianemetic justice, since with or without the compensation in the form suggested, the large holders suffered far more than the smaller. The land in excess of these limits, resumed by the state, was to be distributed in small allotments probably not exceeding 30 jugera to the poor. It is a matter of uncertainty and some difference of opinion, whether these allotments were to be only for Roman citizens, or also for Latins and possibly other Italians. No doubt citizens would come first, and probably the distribution never reached the Italians, but according to Appian, the policy of Tiberius was an Italian policy (i. 9, etc.) and personally I have little doubt that ultimately Italians would have benefited by the scheme, especially when the resumption came to affect the lands held corporately by Italian communities[1].

Three points are known about these small allotments. In the first place, they were to be inalienable (App. i. 10). However necessary this restriction may have seemed at the moment, it was, as we shall see, an extremely questionable provision, and not unlikely to wreck the whole scheme.

[1] I may notice here that I do not agree with Mr Strachan-Davidson in taking Appian's term *Ἰταλιῶται* to denote in any passage others than Italians, as opposed to Roman citizens.

In the second place, the allottees were according to Plutarch, (G. Grac. xi.) to pay a quit rent to the state. This was of course equitable enough, always supposing that the possessors had also to pay rent for the land left in their hands. It however somewhat complicated land titles, and either created or perpetuated that anomalous category of land, called *ager privatus vectigalisque.*

In the third place, the work of distribution, and of course also of resumption was to be performed by *tresviri agris dandis adsignandis*, elected, perhaps annually by the people, but re-eligible each year. It had been the want of such a commission, which had made the Licinian law inoperative. Owing to the reasons carefully given by Appian, the work of resumption threatened to be difficult and contentious, and accordingly, as Livy's epitomator states by a second law, the *tresviri* were invested with extraordinary judicial competence. It does not seem to me at all certain that the ordinary judicial authorities were wholly superseded. If they were, it seems hard to explain the statement of Popilius Laenas on his tomb, almost certainly referring to his consulship in 132, *primus fecei ut de agro poplico aratoribus cederent pastores.*

How fast the work of adjudication and distribution went on, we do not know, but it was not interrupted by the death of Tib. Gracchus. It seems probable however that in spite of difficulties, so much progress was made with the first category of land that by 129 B.C., the Italian communities found their tenure of public land threatened, if not actually interfered with. It is at this time that we have the appeal made by the Italians to Scipio Aemilianus (App. i. 19) and the transference of judicial powers from the *tresviri* to the consuls. The statement of Appian that this transference was by decree of the Senate is a difficulty, since, if judicial powers were conferred on the triumvirs by a law, they could only be taken away by a second law. I am inclined to suggest that the judicial power transferred by the Senate to the consuls only had relation to the Italian communities and that the inactivity, to which Appian says the triumvirs were reduced, is to be narrowed to these relations. Questions affecting the Latin communities had

quasi-international character, which the Senate might perhaps claim as its province.

The particular consul in Italy at the time shirked his new duty, but it is not necessary to assume that the consuls of the following years did the same, or that the triumvirs had discontinued their work of assignation in undisputed cases. With regard to the Italians, it is clear from Appian's account of how and why the enfranchisement proposal of Fulvius Flaccus in 125 was brought on, that the danger threatening them had not diminished but increased. Appian i. 21, says that the Italians *περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον*. I think the phrase may be explained in two ways. In the first place, what I should call the quasi-international complications would be almost more in evidence even than the opposition of the individual possessors. In the second place, I imagine that the individual Latins, as deriving their occupation not directly from the Roman Government, but from their own communities, would have been unable to profit by the 500 jugera maximum, and would be wholly dispossessed in consequence of the resumption.

It seems to me that Mr Ferrero's explanation of the Italian opposition "the simplicity of which helps to confirm it" is based upon a misinterpretation of Appian i. 18. Appian says that as the land to be resumed in some cases adjoined other land, either sold to private owners or apportioned to the allies—that is, I imagine, allowed on usufruct to Italian communities—it was found necessary, with a view to accurate measurement of the public land, to institute enquiries about this other land and to demand the production of title deeds and other documents. This surely implies that on the production of such documents the land would be left alone. But Mr Ferrero strangely conjectures from the passage, that "the Latins and Italians were to be deprived of all public land that had not been formally assigned to them, whether they held it by purchase or merely by occupation." Such a conjecture seems wholly out of relation to what Appian really says.

Mr Ferrero goes on to find in the following sentences of Appian, a proof that the dispossessed Italians were compensated

by being included together with the poor citizens of Rome in the new distribution of estates (vol. i. pp. 51, 52). It is possible, as I have already suggested, that the Italians were ultimately to have been among the small holders, but this passage does not prove it. Appian is, in fact, not talking about the Italians at all in the rest of the chapter; he is merely describing the difficulties of the commission, their reckless mode of procedure, the compulsory exchange of land sometimes effected and the natural complaints well or ill founded, that the land received was inferior to the land given up. There is no indication in Appian that it was the Italians on whom this exchange of land was forced. It was merely the exchange alluded to in the Lex Agraria, l. 4. I am convinced that the strong opposition of the Italians can only be explained by remembering that their interest in the public land was involved in the corporate *possessio* of large parts of it by the Latin municipia[1].

We get no further light on the situation, till the tribuneship of G. Gracchus in 123 B.C. Then the law of Tiberius seems to have been superseded by a new Lex Sempronia (Lex Agr. l. 1, etc.) virtually a re-enactment of the former, certainly exempting from division the Campanian and other leased lands (see the recurring clause in the Lex Agr.) and as certainly restoring full judicial powers to the triumvirs in all matters affecting public land. Undoubtedly a fresh impulse must have been given to the work of assignation, and by the end of his second tribuneship, I suspect that few of the old possessors had much more than their 500 jugera left. On the other hand, I infer from l. 31 of the Lex Agraria that little or no progress was yet made with the resumption of land in the occupation of colonies or Latin towns. Probably Gaius recognised that to carry out this part of the original agrarian programme without first

[1] I have thought it worth while to go into Mr Ferrero's argument, because it is a good illustration of the many rash conjectures sometimes based on isolated passages apart from their context, sometimes as in this case on actual misinterpretation, often on mere shadowy probability, which make his book, in spite of its obvious attractions, an unreliable and often dangerous guide.

dealing with the franchise question would be to provoke revolution or even intestine war.

Two other points belonging to the purely agrarian question may be mentioned in connection with G. Gracchus. It was probably due to his initiative that portions of the public land, lying along the public roads were assigned by the triumvirs to small tenants called *viasiei vicani*, in return for some services in repairing or maintaining the roads[1]. A more important point is the statement of Plutarch (G. Grac. xi.) that Livius Drusus abolished the quit rent so far exacted from the Gracchan allottees, thereby making their holdings private property *optimo jure*. If Gaius had thought this measure fatal to his agrarian scheme, he would surely have opposed it, and as there is no record of such opposition, we may assume that he acquiesced in it. He was a practical statesman, and it must have become apparent during the past eleven years that the farming career of these small holders, taken largely we may assume from the city population, was bound to be a hard if not hopeless struggle, and that the relief afforded by this law was a virtual necessity.

Into the motives of Drusus we need not enter. They may have been wider than Plutarch represents them. That his concession to the Italians was more than a mere party move is perhaps indicated by the fact that as consul in 112, when there was no such immediate motive, he seems to have given the Latins certain advantages in reference to the public land. (Lex Agr. l. 29.)

It remains to notice as part of the Gracchan scheme the projected establishment of colonies in Italy and beyond the sea. In the former, several colonies were to have been founded, but Plutarch mentions only two, at Capua and Tarentum[2]. There is no evidence that a colony was established at Capua, or any colonists settled there. Any such settlement would

[1] The Lex Agraria confirms this arrangement. It appears from the lex that these persons were selected by decree of the Senate, no doubt because Italian roads were generally under senatorial control.

[2] Whether Lex Agr. l. 43 refers to additional colonists sent to an older colony at Sipontum, is uncertain.

have been a violation of the agrarian law, by which the ager Campanus was specially exempted from division. Some steps however were taken to colonise Tarentum, which was to have been called Neptunia, and some colonists were established there by the triumvirs. Plutarch implies that they belonged to a more well-to-do class than the small allotment holders. (Cap. 9; they were χαριέστατοι not πένητες.) According to Plutarch, Livius Drusus, acting on instructions from the Senate, passed a law for the establishment of 12 colonies in Italy, exclusively for the poor, and 3000 were to be sent to each. It is clear from Appian (i. 35) that the scheme was not carried out as a whole, but it is quite possible that a certain number of colonists may have been sent out. How the land required for these 12 colonies was to be forthcoming is by no means clear. Quite possibly there was no serious intention of carrying out the scheme. But if it had been carried out, it must almost certainly have involved interference with the public land held on terms of *possessio* by the Italian communities already alluded to. This is implied, I think, by Appian in his account of the younger Livius Drusus who had the design of carrying out his father's colonisation scheme. Appian says in chap. 36 that the Italians were alarmed at this scheme, fearing that they would be deprived of the *ager publicus* which they still retained. This *ager publicus* must have been that which we find in Lex Agraria, line 31, secured in usufruct to the *coloniae et municipia civium Romanorum nominisve Latini.*

Of extra-Italian colonies, only one was attempted, that of Junonia on the site of Carthage. This was established by a Lex Rubria in 122, and G. Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus went out early in the year as two of the triumvirs, and marked out lots, apparently of 200 jugera each, for 6000 colonists, a number in excess of that allowed by the law. On their return, they proceeded to collect the 6000 ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας. (App. i. 22.) How many were actually sent out, we cannot say; probably not the whole number, since the Lex Rubria was repealed either just before or just after the death of Gaius in 121. I have no doubt that Appian's phrase ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας means that the colonists were taken both from Roman citizens

and Italians, the latter presumably thereby acquiring the civitas.

The repeal of the Lex Rubria (notice the phrase in the Lex Agr. "lex Rubria quae fuit") marked the end of the Gracchan legislation and in effect its failure. In design it had been a great and noble scheme. But the realisation of its essential aims, the repopulation of Italy, the revival of agriculture and the fairer apportionment of the public land required economic insight even more than political daring and honesty. As long as the system of slavery remained unchecked, it was useless from an economical point of view to attack the latifundia system, while even from a political point of view the sudden and arbitrary resumption from the old possessors and the threatened interests of Italian communities introduced fatal complications. The great socialistic measure, the corn law, made the situation more difficult both politically and economically; politically, because it must have disinclined the poor citizens to leave Rome for the hard and uncertain struggle on the small allotments (it was perhaps owing to this that the colonies of Drusus were not carried out, and that Gracchus was compelled to make up his 6000 colonists for Junonia from Italy); economically, because the lowered price of corn in the capital, though only affecting Rome directly, must have reacted on the rest of Italy, though no doubt Ferrero is right in insisting that in no case could the Italian farmers at a distance have sent their corn to Rome.

After the death of G. Gracchus therefore the agrarian situation was one of hopeless confusion. The small holders, probably very numerous, in most cases quite unfitted for farm work, were in spite of the alleviation granted by Drusus disillusioned, and anxious to get out of their false position: and yet forbidden to sell their holdings.

The possessors were angry and restless. Large portions of *ager publicus* were still in their possession, and the uncertainty of their tenure had been brought home to them. The triumvirs were still in existence, still retained judicial powers, and might still continue the useless, and even mischievous work of assignation. Mr Strachan-Davidson assumes that many of the

possessors had still more than the 500 jugera allowed them by Gracchus, and complains that the Lex Agr. does not inform us what was done with this surplus. He believes himself that, like the 500 jugera, it became the private property of the possessors. I do not think this is possible. Line 2 of the Lex Agraria, while making the land left to the old possessor private, expressly stipulates that it shall not exceed the amount fixed by law. When we remember that the triumvirs had been in existence for 15 years, with powers of assignation all the time, and with judicial powers for nine of those years, we can hardly imagine that the work of resumption was not practically completed. Above all, the position of the Italian communities interested in the public land was still uncertain. G. Gracchus had apparently held his hand, but as long as the triumvirs retained their powers, there was no knowing what might happen.

Something therefore had to be done, whether from the senatorial or the popular side. The Gracchan scheme had failed, and the continuance of the restrictions imposed by it, the insecurities of tenure revealed by it, and above all, the maintenance of the machinery by which it was to have been worked, were simply impediments in the way of anything like political and economical stability.

It is from this point of view that we should consider the three laws recorded by Appian alone in cap. 27. Were they reactionary laws? Were they necessarily the work of the political opponents of the Gracchi? It was usually the characteristic of the Roman Government to accept *faits accomplis*. There was admittedly no reactionary upsetting of the corn law, of equestrian juries, of the arrangement as to consular provinces, of the provisions with regard to *vectigalia* in Asia and Africa and of other laws certainly questionable from the senatorial point of view. Must we regard these agrarian laws as exceptions to this moderate attitude[1]?

[1] We have a reference in l. 83 of the Lex Agr. to a Lex Sempronia regulating vectigalia from land in Africa. We are of course familiar with the so-called Lex de vectigalibus Asiae. May not the law really have been one either dealing with provincial vectigalia generally, or at least with those

The first law need not detain us. It was probably passed in 121, and removed the restriction placed by Tib. Gracchus upon the sale of the small holdings assigned by the triumvirs. Such a law was inevitable. The restriction had been in the first instance thoroughly uneconomic, though it may have seemed necessary to give the scheme a fair trial. But it was now obviously and purely mischievous. Economic conditions, against which laws are futile, made not only the success of many of these small farmers but their existence quite impossible. No doubt the effects of the repeal were in some ways deplorable. A natural retribution attends bad laws: even their repeal may do harm for the moment. The value of the lots must have been depreciated; the large owners got cheap bargains, and perhaps some, as Appian suggests, were induced to sell, who might have held on. At any rate it was the less of two evils.

But this could not possibly be the final step. There was clearly no further useful work for the triumvirs to do. It would be absurd to assign fresh lots merely to be bought up by the large owners; the work of resumption from the possessors was probably done, or if not, was no longer called for: the Italian colonisation was at a stand-still, while the continued existence of the commission was a dangerous menace to the Italian possessors. Accordingly in 118, a second law was passed[1] abolishing the land commission. At the same time, with a view of giving some greater security than the precarious position they had occupied since Tib. Gracchus to the old possessors, both individual and corporate, the author of this law in some way secured them their *possessio*—*εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων*—. I agree with Mr Strachan-Davidson that this refers to the possessors and not to the small holders, but it must have included the Italian communities with their corporate *possessio*.

in certain provinces, including Asia and Africa? The law may have had the object of meeting the financial burdens involved by the corn law.

[1] The date is fixed by Appian's phrase at the end of the chapter, "15 years after the Gracchan legislation"; which cannot refer to the third law, since that was demonstrably in 111, and must therefore refer to the second, which was in a modified sense the undoing of the Gracchan law.

since their case was far more urgent than that of the individuals. Finally, as was only equitable, so long as the land was public, both classes of possessors were to pay a vectigal to the state. This last point, I imagine was only a legal enforcement of existing custom, which had perhaps tended of late to become obsolete. The proceeds of this vectigal were apparently to be used for meeting some of the public expenditure involved by the corn law. There can hardly be any doubt that no vectigal was imposed on the small holders. They were certainly not in a position to pay it, and if the law emanated from the popular party, it would surely have recognised this, while if, as usually supposed, it came from the senatorial side, so had the law of Drusus, and the party could hardly contradict itself within four years. The law seems to have been a judicious one, and to have done something for all sections, but of course there was a sense in which by abolishing the commission, it had ended the Gracchan scheme. In a very intelligible sense this law might be described as having relieved the public land from the irregular and useless legislation of the Gracchi by abolishing the commission and imposing a vectigal. As will appear below, I believe this was how Cicero intended to describe the law.

I now come to the question as to the proposer of this law. The MSS. of Appian attribute it to Σπορις βοριος, the last name being usually emended to Θοριος. This emendation is made practically certain by the fact that Cicero (Brut. 36) speaks of a Spurius Thorius in connection with a vectigal on the public land. But Cicero's statement about him has some appearance of being inconsistent with Appian's account of his law. I seem compelled to discuss this point under the second law, but the force of my argument will, I think, appear greater when the third law has been explained. Cicero says: *agrum publicum vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali levavit.* Is *vectigali* privative or instrumental? Apart from subject matter, most readers would take the former sense. In that case, Cicero states one of two things, either he relieved the public land from an irregular and useless law which imposed a vectigal; or he relieved the public land from a vectigal by an irregular

and useless law. Whichever translation we take, there is a prima facie reason for making Thorius the author of the third law, which according to Appian abolished the vectigal[1]. But when we turn to the third law itself, we find that it did not relieve any public land from vectigal. Every category of public land went on paying vectigal as before. It is true that the 500 jugera of the old possessors no longer paid vectigal, but that was because it became *ager privatus*. To describe such a conversion of public into private land as a freeing of public land from vectigal is surely a mode of expression of which Cicero would never have been guilty. Besides, this mode of translating the passage implies that Cicero regarded either the law of 118 or that of 111 as a *vitiosa et inutilis* lex. Cicero no doubt was not always very discriminative, even in his study, in his use of condemnatory epithets, but if we assume him to have known anything of these two laws, it is impossible to believe that he would have called either of them *inutilis*, and Appian gives no indication that either was *vitiosa*, i.e. passed in an irregular manner. It seems necessary therefore to take *vectigali* as the instrument. He relieved the public land from an irregular and useless law by imposing a vectigal. The law of Tib. Gracchus was *vitiosa*, because it ignored the *intercessio* of Octavius, and *inutilis*, because it had failed. Cicero was aware that this law of Thorius practically repealed the Gracchan measure, which, like Appian, he identifies with the law of Tiberius. He was also aware that Thorius imposed or insisted on a vectigal from public land. Not quite accurately he makes the latter the instrument of the former. He would have been more accurate, if he had said he relieved the public land of a useless law by abolishing the land commission. Of course it does not matter whether Thorius, of whom we know nothing, was the author of the second or third law, but as the argument against the latter view amounts almost to demonstration, I thought it best to thresh the matter out.

We now come to the third law, the so-called Lex Agraria of 111, which can in no sense be described as a relief of the public

[1] Mr Strachan-Davidson, Dr Greenidge and Mr Ferrero all seem inclined to take this view.

land from the effects of the former law of Thorius, but was rather a supplement to, a continuation of and in some parts probably a re-enactment of that law.

So far from being reactionary, the whole object and design of the law would seem to have been to acknowledge, sanction and give precision to the *faits accomplis* since 133. Among these *faits accomplis* was undoubtedly the failure of the Gracchan plan as a working and living scheme for the regeneration of Italy on agrarian lines. The legal recognition of that failure had been embodied in the Lex Thoria, and I imagine that the series of clauses (lines 33, 34 foll.) specifying the various magistrates, who were to exercise judicial authority in cases of disputed land, and the legal proceedings to be taken were either repetitions or modifications of enactments in that law. At any rate, after the disappearance of the land commission, some such regulations were the only means to prevent hopeless confusion. But further than this, within the general failure of the Gracchan scheme, certain parts of it had been carried out. These might be confirmed or modified or cancelled; but at any rate they must be put upon a regular legal basis, especially if the phrase *lex vitiosa* represented the views of any considerable section. Again, I suggest that the Lex Thoria had done this to a certain extent, but perhaps more by not cancelling than by actually confirming. Thus to a large number of persons, lots of 30 jugera had been assigned by the triumvirs. Till 122, these lots had been *ager privatus vectigalisque*. Since the law of Drusus, it had been private land in the full sense. But as the titles to this land depended upon the commission, and the commission had not only been abolished, but had perhaps itself depended upon a *lex vitiosa*, this law definitely confirms the private character of all such lots (lines 5, 6). Again, a number of colonists had evidently been settled on land in different parts of Italy, and yet the colonies were not formally established. The position of these persons was very ambiguous; they were rather *pro colonis* than *coloni*. Their complete private ownership also the law confirms (line 3). In both cases however, if the holders had taken advantage of the law of 121, and sold their land, they were

not allowed to appeal to the law of Tiberius which forbade such sale.

Once more, the triumvirs had resumed from the old possessors practically all public land exceeding 500 jugera. So far from cancelling this resumption, as a reactionary law might have done, this law confirms the limit, but with a view of putting an end once for all to this system of individual *possessio* in Italy, it converted the 500 jugera into private property and therefore abolished the vectigal imposed by Thorius (line 2). This is the only provision of the law which Appian mentions, and the only result of it in his eyes was that the people by losing the vectigal lost its last advantage from the public land. This was of course not true even in the matter of Italian land. The people was largely benefited in the persons of the small holders and colonists, whose land was also free from vectigal. It was benefited by several important categories of land, still remaining public, and paying vectigal as before. In any case, if the state lost a precarious revenue, to get rid once for all, as far as Italy was concerned, of the unsatisfactory tenure of *possessio* was probably worth the price. Nor must it be forgotten that this "reactionary" provision was simply going back to what had originally seemed to Tib. Gracchus the most equitable arrangement.

Another question still required final settlement, a question probably affecting more land, and a greater revenue from it to the people, than the residue left to the individual possessors. We have seen how the Gracchan scheme had been complicated by the attitude and fears of the Italian communities, to whom public land had been given in *possessio*, and how in all probability the Lex Thoria had guaranteed the tenure, and insisted on the vectigal. If there was still any doubt about the position of these communities, it was settled by ll. 31 and 32 of this law, by which the usufruct and possession of the land was secured to them on the conditions existing prior to the law. Of the later history of this category of public land the usufruct of which was thus confirmed to the Italian communities, we have no definite knowledge. It would be mere conjecture to suggest that any agrarian scheme of Saturninus touched it, and

I have already pointed out that there are indications of its continued retention by these communities in the time of Livius Drusus (App. chap. 36). It seems most probable, though it cannot I think be proved, that either as a result of the Social War or in the course of Sulla's dealings with the question of Italian land, this last trace of the *possessio* system in Italy finally disappeared. In some cases possibly the land may have been definitely added to the territories of the now full burgess communities. In others perhaps it may have been resumed or forfeited and used for purposes of colonisation. At any rate there is no evidence in the Ciceronian period of its continued existence as *ager publicus* held in accordance with this law on conditions of usufruct.

Compared with these important settlements, the ratification of the exempting clause in the Lex Sempronia, excluding the *ager Campanus* from division, the confirmation of the *viasiei vicani* on strips of public land, the recognition of the claims of those holding public land *in trientabulis*, and even the conversion of land, perhaps illegally occupied by possessors since the abolition of the commission, into private property, up to the limit of 30 jugera, are all instances in which *faits accomplis* are recognised and accepted.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that at least one half of the law, as we possess it, deals with the land in the province of Africa, and that the settlement here is as little reactionary as for Italy. The main reason for dealing with the African land was to raise money by the public sale of considerable portions of the public land in the province. Presumably this was intended to compensate for the loss of the *vectigalia*, hitherto paid by the possessors in Italy. Of course it may be said that this was a short-sighted policy, to put so much valuable land into the market at the same time, and we are entirely without information as to whether or how far the sale was carried out. The land sold was not to become private land in the full sense; it was to be *ager privatus vectigalisque* (l. 49), and though this category of land seems to have been got rid of in Italy, it may have been an improvement on the use to which this African land had been put before. At any rate, the greatest care was

taken to exclude from this saleable land all land whether public or private in which vested interests were involved. In the first place, and no more decisive proof could be required that the law was not reactionary, the allotments of 200 jugera, assigned to the colonists under the Lex Rubria, were confirmed as their private property, although the Lex Rubria itself had been cancelled. How many of these colonists there were to take advantage of this equitable recognition of a *fait accompli*, we do not know, but the number was not to exceed that specified in the colonial law, and so must have been less than 6000 (l. 61).

Again, the various concessions made and obligations entered into after the third Punic war were loyally recognised. Not only were the seven faithful cities to retain their territories (l. 79), together with any additions made to them (l. 81), and the Carthaginian deserters to retain the lands assigned to them, but the hostile communities were confirmed, of course on payment of a vectigal, in the usufruct of the public land allowed them, and compensated, if any part of that land had been sold in error (ll. 80, 81). Lines 79 to 82 are not less important in showing the loyalty and good faith of Rome as illustrated by this great law, than in throwing light upon the various tenures of land in Africa.

The law was reactionary in no single point. It did not undo, or cancel or overthrow the Gracchan legislation. On the contrary, in a large number of details it confirmed it. But it recognised that the Gracchan scheme as a whole had failed, and it did what was possible to prevent that failure from causing worse complications in the future. The agrarian question was of course not settled, but at any rate, that particular form of it, which for two centuries before the Gracchi had caused the rich to oust the poor and the poor to hate the rich, the question of *possessio*, was finally settled by this statesmanlike law. Its author unfortunately we do not know. That it was some popular tribune, who sympathised with the Gracchan movement, I have no doubt. As there is no indication in the law of senatorial as opposed to popular leanings, we may at once dismiss the suggestion that it was

G. Baebius. The facts that he opposed Memmius, and allowed himself to be bribed by the Senate to prevent Jugurtha from giving evidence, are arguments against rather than for such a view. Indeed, the senatorial reaction, which in political matters had followed the death of G. Gracchus, had practically spent itself by the year 111. We have only to remember the part played by Memmius in this year, the support he received both from the populace and the equestrian order, and the Mamilian commission which soon followed, in order to realise that this was not the moment when a great reactionary measure, as it is often assumed to be, was likely to be proposed or passed. As there is absolutely no evidence as to the authorship, hypotheses are futile, but I would suggest that Memmius or even Servilius Glaucia, if he was tribune this year, might either of them, as far as internal evidence is concerned, have passed this great and weighty law, which shows that even in the revolutionary period, amid all the corruption and strife of the time, great questions could still be dealt with in a spirit of equity, compromise and statesmanship.

E. G. HARDY.

NOTES ON QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS.

Professor Zimmermann's *Neue Kritische Beiträge* on Quintus Smyrnaeus (Teubner, 1908) have sent me back to the study of a deservedly neglected poet. He has convinced me that a good few of my former suggestions (*J. P.* No. 53) were mistaken, though I still feel pretty positive about some which he rejects, but he has accepted so many that I really feel ashamed to go back to more than one or two of the others in the following notes. I most gladly acknowledge the debt which I owe to him, his criticism is fair and reasonable, and I hope he will accept the following criticism of himself on my part as well as it is meant. I think, then, that there are two weaknesses visible in his treatment of the text. In several passages where Köchly marks a lacuna (and it cannot be denied that there are many lacunae in our text) Z. makes violent and capricious changes of words in order to avoid marking the loss of a line or two. I venture to hope that he will carefully reconsider these passages before making the new text which I trust to see some day.

Secondly, his faith in Köchly in other respects seems to me too great. Köchly knew more, I suppose, of post-Homeric epic poetry than any other modern has ever known, but I cannot but think that he was often inclined to emend in an arbitrary and unnecessary way. Especially it appears to me that he tried to force too much uniformity upon Quintus. A poet cannot be treated as if he were a chemical substance which would always react in the same way to the same agent. And even so little inspired a poet as this may have his momentary caprices. What should we think of any one who said that, because Byron everywhere else uses the verb to *lie* correctly,

therefore the only two lines in which he uses to *lay* instead must be altered? Yet the case against those two lines would be stronger than it is against many of those emended in Quintus.

Perhaps however these remarks do not come very well from one who is going to propose emendations in a whole series of passages.

I 37—39. In Köchly's text these three lines run thus:—

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀν' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν ἀστράσι δῖα σελήνη
ἐκπρέπει ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀριζήλη γεγαυῖα
αἰθέρος ἀμφιραγέντος ὑπὸ νεφέων ἐριδούπων.

This is palpably absurd, take it how you will. Köchly says *ὑπὸ* means "from under." Z. adds a comma after *γεγαυῖα* and so I can only imagine that he would interpret the last line to mean that the ether is broken up *by* or *under* or *from under* the clouds. Unable to swallow any of these camels I proposed *ὑπὲρ* for *ὑπό*, *ὑπὲρ νεφέων* meaning only "high up in air." To this Z. objects that Quintus was thinking of *Iliad* Π 300 (he should have said Θ 558 as the whole context shews) where we have *ὑπερράγη*. As if Homer had said the sky was broken up *by* or *under* the clouds! Without having a high opinion of Quintus as a poet, we may admit that he was capable of writing sense and of altering Homer's language; indeed his regular method is to adopt Homeric phrases while altering them to outward view. So here he has paraphrased the whole passage from Θ, changing *φαεινὴν* to *δῖα*, *ἐν οὐρανῷ* to *ἀν' οὐρανόν*, *ὑπερράγη* to *ἀμφιραγέντος* and so on, ruining indeed irremediably the famous and magnificent original, but not making absolute nonsense of it, not at least if you will accept so small a change as *ὑπὲρ* for *ὑπό*. And *ὑπὲρ νεφέων* is his variation upon *οὐρανόθεν*, which does not mean "from under heaven."

I 384. *οὐδέ οἱ αἰχμὴ*
μαψιδίη ποτ' ἴθυνεν.

The best correction would be *ποτε θεῖνεν*.

III 168. *ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες*
τίσετε αἰνὸν ὄλεθρον Ἐριννύσιν ἡμετέρῃσιν.

The ordinary remedy of transposing *αἰνὸν* and *τίσετε* is not very probable; transposition of words within a line is seldom the way to truth in the Epic poets at any rate. The best change seems to me to be *κοινὸν* for *αἰνόν*. The destruction of all the Trojans is to be a joint stock contribution to the Manes of Achilles.

III 258, 259. The emphatic contrast between the speaker and the son of Tydeus surely requires us to read *ἐμεῦ* for *μευ* and *οὐδ' ἐμὲ* for *οὐδέ με*.

III 400.

> *χάρμα φέρων Τρώεσσι, γόον δ' ἀλίαστον Ἀχαιοῖς*
> *λαῶν μυρομένων· περὶ δ' ἔβρεμε βένθεα πόντου.*

This passage has naturally caused suspicion, but two very serious objections seem to have escaped notice; in the first place the end of 401 is pointless; Achilles has fallen at last, "giving joy to the Trojans, woe to the Greeks, and the depths of the sea roared around, and the heart was broken," the poet continues, "in all of them." Why in the world should the sea deeps be thus sandwiched in? Secondly, *λαῶν μυρομένων* is a phrase appropriate at a funeral or the like, but quite wrong of an army suddenly stricken with grief on the battle-field. Compare V 568: *ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ | οἰκτρὸν ἀνεστονάχησαν, ἐπίαχε δ' Ἑλλήσποντος | μυρομένων*, where the Greeks are lamenting over Ajax and *μυρομένων* is really appropriate. Observe too that here the Hellespont naturally echoes their lamentation. And so again III 512, *μυρομένων ἄλληκτον ἀταρβέα Πηλείωνα*. And in 603 we actually have *λαῶν μυρομένων* together again.

In short III 401 has got misplaced; it is a line which describes mourning over a corpse by the sea-shore, and has nothing to do in a battle out in the plain. It originally followed III 507 where it will fit in beautifully:—

> *τοῖς δ' ἄρ' ἐπεβρόμεον νῆες περιμυρομένοισιν,*
> *ἠχὴ δ' ἄσπετος ὦρτο δι' αἰθέρος ἀκαμάτοιο*
> *<λαῶν μυρομένων· περὶ δ' ἔβρεμε βένθεα πόντου.>*

Indeed one wonders that one did not feel before that in this passage the sea was missing. We also gain an elegance affected

by these late epics in the echo of the compound *περιμυρομένοισιν* by the simple *μυρομένων*; cf. XII 489, *περιμύρεται—μύρεται—μυρομένη*, III 103, *ἐπήιεν—ἤιεν*, Coluthus 376, *προσέννεπε—ἔννεπεν*, Theocr. II 18 and 21, 59 and 62, Soph. *O.T.* 133, etc.

I also think that Z. is right in proposing *ἔβραχε* for *ἔβρεμε* (*ἔβρεχε* P).

III 475.

καί μευ νηπιέῃσιν ἄδην ἐνὶ σῇσι δίηνας
στήθεά τ' ἠδὲ χιτῶνας· ἔχον δέ σε χερσὶν ἐμῇσι.

Phoenix wore only one chiton at a time, nor can we say that *χιτῶνας* means different garments worn on different occasions for that will not suit *στήθεα*, besides being in itself tasteless. Surely Quintus said *χιτῶνα*, for he frequently admits hiatus in the weak caesura of the third foot. Cf. *Iliad* I 490.

IV 66. *ἀπωσέμεναι* here and *ἀπωσέμεν* in XIV 99 both appear to me to be right; they are mixed aorists. Cf. X 293, XII 20, *περσέμεν*, 393 *ἐμπρησέμεν*, all clearly aorists. At XIV 519 *ἀπωσέμεναι might* be future, but it probably is aorist there too.

IV 434.

ἥβης ἀρχόμενον πολυγηθέος, ὁππότε φῶτες
θαρσαλέοι τελέθουσιν, ὅτ' οὐκέτι δεύεται ἦτορ.

If *οὐκέτι* could mean "not yet" this would do very well, and it is just possible to say in defence of *οὐκέτι* that children are not so brave as young men. But surely a poet would never drag in such an idea. One thinks of *ἥβη* as contrasted with age, not with childhood. Did not Quintus therefore say *οὐκ ἐπιδεύεται*? Cf. I 815, *οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐσθλοῦ δεύετ' ἀδελφειοῖο*, *ἔτ'* or *ἐτ'* MSS. *ἐπ'* Köchly. As for the construction, I think the words mean "spirit is not lacking," not "the heart lacks (bravery)," though Quintus was hardly justified by Homer in so using *ἐπιδεύεται*.

V 53. *ἀτραπιτοὶ θαμέεσσι διειργόμεναι σκοπέλοισιν.*

The reading of P is *σκολόπεσσιν* and I incline to think that this should be adopted. The epithet *θαμέεσσι* suits it much

better than it suits *σκοπέλοισιν*, and the paths would be naturally enough marked off by palisades or fences, or better "thorns." Compare Lucian, *Vera Historia* II 30, *ἀκανθώδους καὶ σκολόπων μεστῆς ἀτραποῦ*. Quintus is describing the strait and narrow ways which lead up the Stoic hill of Virtue, and these might well be fringed by hedges of thorn.

V 154. I still think that *ἐσθλὰ* should be altered to *ἄεθλα*. The passages referred to by Köchly prove what nobody but Pauw ever denied, that *ἐσθλὰ* can be used as a noun. They do not prove that Quintus would have employed so violent a zeugma as *ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μόγησα*, nor yet that *ἐσθλὰ* is a decent antithesis to *ἄλγεα*. The epic phrase is *ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρηα* or the like. Such passages as XII 292:

> *ἄλγεα μὲν παρὰ ποσσὶ θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν,*
> *ἐσθλὰ δὲ πολλὸν ἄπωθε,*

or XIV 202:

> *μήτ' ἐπὶ πήματι πάγχυ δαΐζεο θυμὸν ἀνίῃ,*
> *μήτ' ἐσθλῷ μέγα χαῖρε—*

such passages, I say, produce a totally different effect as anybody must feel at once, and are no justification for *ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἄλγεα* side by side. It is significant too that Köchly can find no better excuse for the zeugma than to refer to *μάλα μυρία οἶδε* just afterwards! He knew well enough that Quintus never uses anything like it.

V 299. *ἠιόεν πεδίον*. If Quintus meant "grassy" by *ἠιόεν*, as Liddell and Scott say, he was using the word wrongly, for *ἠιόεν* means "reedy." See an interesting and to my mind conclusive note by the late Henry Malden in this *Journal*, No. 15, p. 112. But I think Quintus probably took the phrase *ἠιόεν πεδίον* bodily from some lost epic. Tennyson's "reedy Simois" in *Oenone* looks as if he had divined by instinct the Homeric sense of *ἠιόεντα Σκάμανδρον*.

V 379. I do not see why Z. wants to change *μέλαν δέ οἱ ἔζεεν ἦτορ*. If Homer calls the *φρένες* black, when a man is in a rage, why should not Quintus call his heart black in a similar context? And only six lines further on he has *ἔζεε θυμός*.

Aristotle *Problems* II 26: *ὁ θυμὸς ζέσις τοῦ θερμοῦ ἐστὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν.*

V 495. If Z. is right in reading *εὐτύκτους* for *ἐκ τεκέων* we should also change *χηρωθέντας* to *χηρωθεῖσαι.*

He is right, I now think, in defending *σκαίρουσι* against me; only it does not mean either *spring* or *hop* or anything else recognised in the dictionary. It means *scrape with their feet*; see Aristotle *Problems* II 31: *Διὰ τί οἱ ἀγωνιῶντες* ("men preparing for a struggle," as the context shews) *ἱδροῦσι τοὺς πόδας;* The answer is "Because they *κινοῦνται καὶ σκαίρουσι τοῖς ποσίν*, move and shift about with their feet, *καὶ τρίβουσι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας κτλ.*" The author there describes the involuntary nervous movements of anxiety. (I suppose Bob Acres was *ἱδρῶν τὰς χεῖρας* when he felt his valour "oozing out of the palms of his hands.") Cf. *Iliad* N 281.

VI 319. *μάχῃ ἔνι τλῆναι ὅμιλον.*

Quintus several times uses such phrases as *τλῆναι ἄλγος* or *τλῆναι αἶσαν.* These do not seem to justify such a curiosity as *τλῆναι ὅμιλον.* Did he write *μάχης ἐνὶ τλῆναι ὁμίλῳ*?

VI 324. *ὡς εἴ τε μελισσάων κλυτὰ φῦλα*
ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἑοῖσι.

There is no difficulty in the masculine *ἑοῖσι.* See e.g. Aristotle *de Gen. An.* III x *passim.*

VI 444. We should certainly read *μηδ' εἴκετε ἐσσυμένοισι δυσμενέσσιν* now that the reading of P is known. At least six examples of bucolic hiatus are to be found in the fourteenth book alone; often no doubt the hiatus would be protected by a digamma in Homer, but Quintus knew little enough about that; often also the vowel left open is iota; but XI 63, *βαλεῖν δέ τε εἰς ἅλα δῖαν* is just like this. Of course that has been altered too; Köchly (*Prolegomena*, Lib. II, cap. I § 11) calls *δέ τε* "particulas alibi Quinto non usitatas," but if he uses them ever, as he certainly does (II 231 for instance), why should he not use them again? At IX 431, 469 also the MSS. reading should be restored. At XI 66 Diels perpetrates a violation of

an elementary metrical rule in his desire to escape this hiatus, which Quintus must have known to be common in Homer.

VI 511. Was not Rhodomann right in reading *ἄλλης* for *ὁλοῆς*? Cf. IX 157.

VII 215. On the evidence of the MSS. it seems that we are bound here to read *ἦν κ' ἐθέλησθα* Such is the reading of A in *Iliad* Δ 353, and who will venture to say that this was not the reading known to Quintus? And if so, why should he not have repeated it?

VII 217.

> *κτήματά τε χρυσόν τε μετ' ἠυκόμοιο θυγατρός,*
> *ὅσσ' ἐπέοικεν ἕπεσθαι ἐυκτεάνῳ βασιλῆι.*

In all the Homeric passages of which this is a reminiscence the gifts are said to go with the bride, not with the husband. Surely it is unreasonable to say that they *ἕπονται βασιλῆι*. Should we not read *βασιλείῃ*?

VII 239. The reading of P, *περιναιετάεσκον*, ought to be preferred. In the verb *ναιετάω* the Homeric tradition keeps the original vowel regularly and rejects the absurd *ναιετάασκον* &c. Accordingly the later epics follow suit, e.g. *ναιετάουσι* in Apoll. Rhod. III 377. They are very slavish in such matters: thus they know that iteratives are not augmented, and so they do not augment them, but it so happens that the Homeric tradition gives corruptly *παρέβασκε* at Λ 104, and so we find *παρέβασκε* in Apollonius IV 210!

So at VIII 79, 103, X 126 the MSS. (or the best of them) give the correct form, which should be restored. If we were to compel Quintus to be consistent on this point, X 89 and XI 92 should be emended accordingly.

VII 382. I do not know what Z. means by saying that the first foot of *τοῦ δ' ἰαίνετο θυμὸς* is a "schwacher Spondeus." The augmented *ι* is as long as any vowel in the Greek language. Why does he not emend the still "weaker spondee" *τέρπεσκον* four lines back? Besides Quintus actually has *ἰαίνετο* with long first syllable in several other places.

VIII 107. Quintus was intimately acquainted with the country round Smyrna, and may very well have known of some place called *βωμὸς Χιμαίρης*. Indeed we know that there was and still is a place there where a jet of fire issues from the ground; altars and fires naturally go together, e.g. Aesch. frag. 370, and the spot might naturally be called the "altar of Chimaera." There were both a mountain and a valley of Chimaera. If *βωμὸς* must be altered, *βουνὸς*, the oldest correction, is also the best.

VIII 337. *ἐτίνυτο δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον*
λαοὺς ἐπαΐσσοντας ὅπως ἀνέμοιο θυέλλας
μίμνει ἐπεσσυμένας ὄρεος μεγάλοιο κολώνη,
ὣς ἄρα μίμνεν ἄτρεστος.

The ordinary correction, *λαοῦ ἐπαΐσσοντος, ὅπως δ'...* does not seem to me very satisfactory. *λαοῦ* has to mean "the enemy," which though it may be defended seems here very awkward. It is not necessary to have a connecting particle at the beginning of a simile, at any rate if that beginning coincides with the opening of a line; see e.g. IX 451; and *ὅπως* need not stand first (cf. II 402). Hence I incline to think that Quintus may have written

λάβρου ἐπαΐσσοντος ὅπως ἀνέμοιο θυέλλας, κτλ.

of course with a full stop at the end of 337. He frequently applies the epithet *λάβρος* to the wind.

IX 104.

ἦ οὔ πω τόδε οἶδατ' ἀνὰ φρένας, ὡς ἀλεγεινοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ἐκ καμάτοιο πέλει θαλίη τε καὶ ὄλβος;

The context shews that we have to do here with general reflexions on the variety of human life; there is no point in calling men *ἀλεγεινοί* here; directly afterwards we have *μερόπεσσι* with no epithet, but *ἀνέμων, χείματος* and *νούσοιο* with them. So here I should expect *ἀλεγεινοῦ*.

IX 368. *ἀφίκεται* is found as a present in Byzantine writers according to the lexica, but is it ever found in so respectable an author as this? Did he not say *ἀφίκετο*, in which case the bucolic hiatus will have helped to cause the corruption?

ἀφικνεῖτ' or ἀφικνέετ' would be better than ἀφίκεται. Dindorf (in Stephanus) denies even the Byzantine use, and says that here it is for ἀφίκηται!

IX 431. δόρπον ἐὺν τεύξαντο μεμαότι· σὺν δὲ καὶ αὐτοί. The masculine δόρπος is not found in any narrative poet: perhaps he said δόρπον συντεύξαντο. This compound is not found elsewhere, but Quintus invents many other compounds. In this line ἐν (MSS.) should be restored for σὺν (Tychsen); it is astonishing to see what a truceless war the editors wage upon this innocent hiatus. Certainly ἔνδοθι νηός in the next line is no objection to ἐν here, for ἐν δε only means "besides," and Quintus does not mind even repeating the same preposition in a single sentence.

I confess that I should prefer δόρπον ἐπεντύναντο, and it would not be more licentious than many of the corrections commonly made in our text.

IX 527. I see no reason against the imperfect ἐντύνοιτο with αἶψα. Cf. *Odyssey* μ 175, Quintus himself VII 561.

X 92. The punctuation of the editions spoils the sense. It would be made clearest by printing thus:

ἐς Τροίην (μάλα γάρ οἱ ὑπέσχετο πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ
Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος δώσειν περικαλλέα δῶρα)
νήπιος.

X 97. The MSS. ἐπέχραεν is perhaps defensible, for Apollonius plainly uses it to govern an accusative (III 431),

ἥ με καὶ ἐνθάδε νεῖσθαι ἐπέχραεν ἐκ βασιλῆος,

"which drove me to come hither, under compulsion from the king." Surely we cannot suppose that Apollonius meant "fell upon me." And χράω, ἐγχραύω are also transitive occasionally.

XI 28. πέρησε δ' ἀνὰ στόμα χαλκὸς
γλῶσσαν ἔτ' αὐδήεσσαν.

So the best MSS. Köchly alters δ' ἀνὰ to δέ οἱ and ἔτ' to τ', arguing that αὐδήεσσαν means not *loquentem* but *loquendi facultate praeditam*. Of course that is true, but just consider what Quintus is made to say: "the spear pierced his tongue which was endowed with the faculty of speech"! Who ever

heard of a poet saying such a thing? Besides Pindar uses the word in a much vaguer way than Köchly allows. And that Quintus meant *loquentem* here, whether he was justified or no, is clear from 31, *φθεγγομένου*. Hermann conjectured *αὐδώωσαν*, unnecessarily I think, but it is on every ground superior to Köchly's.

In like manner Maximus Tyrius uses *φθεγματικὸς* very loosely, *Or.* XLI 1, *ἢ εἴ που ἄλλο τι μαντεῖον ἦν φθεγματικόν.* "Able to speak" is what *φθεγματικὸν* ought to mean, but Maximus cannot mean merely that; he uses it for "vocal" generally.

In defence of *ἔτι*, cf. 72, 195 of this book and XIII 244.

XI 111. In confirmation of my conjecture *ἐπ' ἀρούρῃ* for *ἐπορούσῃ*, which I am glad to find accepted by Z., see I 69, *ἐπιστενάχοντες ἀρούραις*. Cf. Tryphiodorus 352—5.

XI 137. *Εὐρύμαχ' Αἰνεία τε.*
Quintus ought to have said *Αἰνείας τε*, but by his time the idiom was probably entirely lost.

XI 308. If we put a comma after *κεῖντο*, we may keep *παρ' αἰγιαλοῖσιν*. The repetition of *αἰγιαλὸς* in 313 is no objection; cf. e.g. V 141 *ἄσχετον* and 144 *ἀάσχετον*, VIII 62 *ἀλεγεινὸν* and 65 *ἀλεγεινή*, XII 471, 472 and any number of other places.

XII 107. *ἦλυθε παρθενικῇ ἀταλάφρονι πάντ' εἰκυῖα.*
Köchly alters to *ἁπαλόχροϊ*. His first objection to the text is simply frivolous, that young men and maidens are not described as *ἀταλάφρονες* but *ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες*! His second is at first sight more serious; "neque corporis comparationi convenit epitheton ab animo ductum." Yet Homer (*H. Ven.* 82) says *παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη*. Athena is thrice likened in the *Odyssey* to a woman "fair and tall, *skilled in needle work*." Quintus himself compares the bones of Achilles to those of *Γίγαντος ἀτειρέος* (III 725) which is surely equally "ab animo ductum." Cf. VII 687, *ἶσον ἐπουρανίοισιν ἀτειρέσι*. If it be said that you can see that a giant or a god is *ἀτειρής* by his outward appearance, I answer that you see that a young lady is *ἀταλάφρων* by her outward appearance—at least in poetry. Very likely an attentive scrutiny of the poet on this point would give still better instances against Köchly.

XII 314. *πρῶτος μὲν κατέβαινεν ἐς ἵππον κητώεντα.* The objections to this line are twofold; first that it violates Wernicke's law (see Leaf's *Iliad*, 2nd ed., appendix N), secondly that it ends with three spondees. Z. does not therefore mend matters much by *μητιόεντα*. But it seems impossible to say what can be done with it. Perhaps we should read *ἵππου*, supposing *κητώεντα* to conceal some noun.

XII 526.

> *Κασσάνδρη, τῆς οὔ ποτ' ἔπος γένετ' ἀκράαντον,*
> *ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἐτήτυμον ἔσκεν, ἀκούετο δ' ἔκ τινος αἴσης*
> *ὡς ἀνεμώλιον αἰέν.*

No doubt this can be construed, but it is awkward to supply the nominative to *ἔσκεν* and *ὡς* seems to me pointless; we should naturally expect also that Cassandra would be the subject of the whole sentence. Did Quintus write *ἴσκεν* and *εἰς ἀνεμώλιον* (like the Homeric *εἰς ἀγαθόν*)? He does not use *ἴσκεν* elsewhere that I remember, but must have known the word.

XII 546.

> *ἀλλά μοι οὐ πείθεσθ' οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πόλλ' ἀγορεύσω.*

Of the two obvious corrections Pauw's *πείσεσθ'* is on every ground superior to Spitzner's *ἀγορεύω*. Köchly abuses it without giving any reason; the real reason, I suspect, was its author. But the extreme badness of most of Pauw's observations is no valid argument against any good thing he may have lighted on.

In Nonnus' Paraphrase of the fourth Gospel, IV 220, we must read *πείσεσθε* again for *πείθεσθε* (*οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε* in the original, IV 48).

XIII 326. *Κύπρις δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευεν.*

I am convinced that *ducente deo* is the right reading in *Aeneid* II 632, but this looks a little as if Quintus there read *deu*.

XIII 380. The best restoration of this passage, compounded out of Rhodomann, Köchly, Zimmermann and myself, seems to me to be:

σχέτλιοι, οἳ τότε κεῖνο παρὲκ μέλαν αἷμα καὶ ἱρὰ
ἀθανάτων ἀλίτοντο.

XIII 396. τὸ μέν. Cf. *Iliad* A 234.

XIV 7.

πολλὰ δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὁππόσα φύετ' ὄρεσφιν
αὐτοῖς σὺν πρώνεσσιν ἔσω φορέουσι θαλάσσης.

Mountain torrents carry away whole promontories! The poet said αὐτοῖς σὺν πρέμνοισιν, a variant on Homer's αὐτῇσι ῥίζῃσι (I 542).

XIV 55. How in the name of Decency could Quintus talk about the ἀκήρατον αἰδῶ of Aphrodite caught in the net and Helen recovered from Troy? He must have said ἐπήρατον, nor does the occurrence of κάλλος ἐπήρατον in 59 debar this in a poet so fond of repeating words at short intervals.

XIV 195. Z. proposes ἱκάνει for ἵκανεν, as an imperfect in a gnomic sentence is most improbable. Is it certain however that ἵκανεν was not used by Quintus as if it was an aorist? Cf. XIII 367, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν <ἤδη> ἵκανεν = ἥκει. Or should we there also read ἱκάνει? This seems the most probable alternative.

A gnomic pluperfect and imperfect occur in Nonnus *Dion.* XXII 176, 177, and there are at least three such imperfects in Manetho.

XIV 293. ἦμαρ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ δούλιον codd. opt. τί δὲ vel εἰ δὲ δούλιον dett. καὶ Rhodomann. Hermann, objecting to two epitheta ornantia joined by a copula, conjectured δουλήιον, though one may fairly say that they are not "ornantia" here at all, the phrase being equivalent to "the day of constraint and slavery." But the copula is not wanted, the inferior MSS. have sometimes preserved the truth, and here they point to ἦμαρ ἀναγκαῖον τόδε δούλιον which exactly suits the context. καὶ δούλιον at I 430 is in no way parallel.

XIV 617. Read ὀψὲ for αἶψα. Nauplius had been waiting for his vengeance for years.

ARTHUR PLATT.

FRENCH GLOSSES IN THE LEIPSIC MS. NO. 102 (13TH CENT.) FROM THE COMMENTARY ON JOB

The following notes were made by me in the year 1876. I have given the punctuation of the Hebrew, however incorrect, as it stands in the MS. The transliteration of the French words may not in all cases be consistent but will not be found to be misleading. The notes 'Gl.' refer to the *Glossaire Hébreu-Français du xiiie siècle* by Lambert and Brandin, Paris, 1905.

i. 20. שון קׄייף son chef ראשו

v. 23. גְאַרְלוֹשׁ garlos (= garloups) אבני

vi. 10. איטרנשירייה é transirai ואסלדה

אֵירְקיֵרַיי é rekyerai

אֵידוֹטְרַיי é douterai

18. שרונט ריטריץ seront rétraiz ילפתו

25. אֵיפְרוֹבְרַא אֵיפְרוֹבַנְט éprouvera éprouvant יוכח הוכח

vii. 1. טֵירְמָא terme צבא

4. אֵיאֵימוֹבְמַנְט é émovemant וּמֵדָד

5. אֵיבֵלִיטָא é bélita וגוש See Cotgrave s.v. blete (Gl. gléte)

vii. 5 cont. אֵימוֹטָא é mota (= motte)

אִיאֵפְרִיממַנְט i éprémmant

6. דְא נָאוויטְא de navéte ארג

אַנְפֵילְיַינצְא דְאֵיפְרַנְצְא en feillanze déperanze באפס תקוה

15. אֵיטְרַנְגֵילְמַנְט étrangélemant מחנק

viii. 8. פור לא גׄנדראציאון pour la gendrazion לדור

11. שִׁיאוֹרְגוֹיִילְרָא si orgoylera היגאה

14. אַפְטִיצְרַא apetizera יָקוּט

טנצונרא tanzonera

ix. 4. אִיאֵיפֵייזִיבְלָא y épeizibla וישלם

ix. 12. יחתוף דשודרא desodera
רבינרא ravinera
34. שבטו שוורגא sa vérge
x. 1. אבורישנט aborisant
נקטה
xi. 10. איפצא אמאשר é fasse
amaasér ויקהיל
12. נבוב אנפארליז anparliz
דיקוריגייז décoreygiéz
ילבב
xii. 20. מסיר טורנא torne
xiii. 27. בסד אנציף en zef
xv. 13. רוחך טון טלנט ton talent
29. יטה טנדרא tendra
לורפנישמנט lur fenisse-
מנלם mant
לור אנפלויימנט lur an-
ploiemant
31. בשן אנפאשטיה an faseté
(fâseté Wallon)
אנוולאור an volor
32. אשון אירבול é son érbol
וכפתו
xvi. 5. אלומבמנט é lo move-
וניד mant
15. מון קוייר mon cuir
גלדי
ועללתי אישולייא é solyai
(Gl. suyléy)

xvi. 15 cont. אידיקוברי é decovrai
אי אמונטי é amontai
16. פורינט רגריזליין furent
regrézeléz חמרמרו
18. אינון שוייט e non soiet
ואל יהי
In the Masseceth Sopherim
אי דיש = ואל e des
xvii. 2. פאשיש faasés התולים
קנגמנט changemant
3. גאנאמוי gage à moi
ערבני
5. אה אפלייגמנט a épleine-
mant לחלק
אנוצרא anozera יגיד
טרנקרא tranchera
6. אה אישנפלייר à ésenplér
למשול
אה אפוטיר a apotér
אי טנבור é tanbor ותפת
See Gl. s.v. tâbour
אימן ? איריץ é masse
7. אמיש קריאין á mes criéz
ויצורי
אמיש פיינטוריש e mes
peintures
8. שרא רבולייה sera rébolyé
יתערר. See Gl. s.v.
reabéylont

xvii. 8 cont. שרא אפורצייה sera a-forzé

11. ליש אנטיינש les antains (= ententes) מורשי (Gl. més ponsées)

אריטמנץ éritemanz

16. בדי שולש sols

פורץ forts

טינש tines

ברנקש branches

נחת פוזמנט posemant

אשואיגמנט asouéigemant

דצנדרומש dezandroms

xviii. 2. קנצי פינש fins

4. צור רוקא roche

פורט fort

5. טרשלדרא tresaldera

ידעך

אטינדרא éteindera (Gl. atéyndra)

9. צמים אשיויין asaivéz

גונגץ jonanz (Gl. yones)

8. שבכה לציאין laziéz

10. אישא פרינזא é sa prinze

ומלכודתו

xviii. 11. אידיפיציורנט לוי é depizyorent lui

והפיצוהו (Gl. é dépèzera luy)

12. שון טולט son tolt אונו

אשא קוטא a sa cote

לצלעו

xix. 12. איאפוניירינט i aponyirent

ויסלו

17. דיש אנפנין des anfanz

לבני בטני

18. אנפנין anfanz עוילים

טורטפיניינין tort fénéanz

אמיש פרליריגט é mésparlirent

וידברו בי

26. פורינט דיבטוין furent débatuz

נקפו

בויי voie אחזה

גוטיזא jutize אלוק

29. דגאטמנט degaatemant

שדון (Gl. dégastemont)

קדרויט que droit

xx. 2. מון טייזמנט mon taizement חושי

מון האטמנט mon hatement

3. לוקאטיאי lo chatié מוסר

(Gl. châtiemont)

xx. 10. דֵיבְרִייזְרונט débrizeront ירצו

אפיירונט apaieront

שָׁא טוֹשְׁטָא sa toste אונו

שא ווניטייה sa vanité

שון פֿיץ son fiz

11. שֵׁיש פֿוֹרצְמַנְץ ses force-manz עֲלוּמַיו

שיש אנפַֿנץ ses anfanz

18. טְרַאוֵילֵיר traveilyer יגע

שון קֻנגֻמנט son changement תמורתו

21. טרזרא tarzera יחיל

25. דוקורש du cors מִגֵּוָה

28. רולרא rolera יגל

xxi. 3. שופְֿרֵיש מוֹיי sufrés moi שאוני

דֵיפוֹרְטֵיץ déportez

5. אֵישוֹיֵיש אָטֵיאוּץ é soyés atéyuz והשמו

8. דוֹרְבְלָא dorable נכון

10. אבֿוֹרִירָא avorira יגעיל

גֻיטרא jétera

13. אֵיקוֹמְא אוּרְא e come ure וכרגע

xxi. 13 cont. איקומא ריפוש e come répos

דֵיצַנְדְרוֹנט dézandront יחתו

אֵישְׁרוֹנט דֵיפְֿרַיינְט e seront défraint

17. אֵיטַיְינְדְרָא étaindera ידעך

דוֹלוֹרְש dolors חבלים

פרטיאש partiés

19. שָׁאדוֹלוֹר sa dolor אונו

שָׁאָטוֹטא saatote (see xviii. 12, xx. 10)

שא ווניטיה sa vanité

20. שָׁאָפְֿרֵיטְא sa afreite כידו

שָׁאֵיטַנְצֵיילְא sa étancéle

אֵידוֹ וְונִין e do venin ומחמת

21. פֿורינט אטיריץ furent atiréz חֻצָּצוּ

24. שֵׁיש טֵינְש sés teins עֲטִינַיו (? שינש seins)

שֵׁיש מיץ ses miz

שיש טֵטִינְש ses tetins

שרא אָבֵיבְֿורֵיה sera abévoré יְשֻׁקֵה (Gl. abuvré)

xxi. 27. דישקוברריש descovreres תחמסו

31. אנוצרא anozera יניד

xxii. 2. איפרנדרא éprandera יסכן בלדרא valdera

4. איקאטיארא i chatiera toi יוכיחך

21. אפרן apran הסבן (Gl. épron)

איאיפייזיבלא i épaizibla ושלם

24. איקומא רוקא é come roche וכצור

25. טיש פורטריציש tes fortrézés בצריך

אן טיש אגוויישורש an tes aguisors (Gl. tés onguysors)

29. אורגוייל orgoyl גוה

30. נון ניט non net אי נקי

אילא eile

xxiii. 2. לוקונטראליאמנט lo contralimant מרי

שור מון שופיר sor mon sopir על אנחתי

3. שון אפייטמנט son afaitemant תכונתו

שונהונטא son conte

xxiii. 3 cont. שון שיגא son siege

6. נון פראורא non férure לא אך

פור for *or* por

7. דרוייטוויר droituir נוכח

9. פאמרא pâmera יעטף (see Gl. on Is. lvii. 16)

קוברי covri

12. דמא קוטומא de ma cotume מחקי

13. און on באחד

xxiv. 6. טאארזרונט taarzeront ילקשו (Gl. tarziveront)

8. מוייטרונט moiteront ירטבו

9. דלא ממיילא de la maméle משד

שורטוויירונט sortoyeront יחבלו

10. פיירינט אלייר férént alyer הלפו

11. לור טיירש lur tires שורותם

אולוייירונט oloyeront יצהירו

13. אור pluie פלוויאה

17. פרטרובלמנין partrobleманz בלהות

xxiv. 18. שְׁרָא מַלְדִיט sera maldit תקלל

שרא אנוילייאה sera envilyé

שֵׁישֹׁרְש sesors כרמים

וִוינְיֵיש vinyés (= vignes)

19. דְגָאטְמַנְט degâtement ציה

20. פִּיטְרָא pitera רחם

? פיטיא pitie

וַואנְטְרָא vantre

24. אֵיפֿוּרֵינְט אֵפוֹבְרֵיץ é furent épovréz וְהֻמְכוּ

שְׁרוֹנט אֵיטְרַנְקֵיץ seront étranchéz יקפצון

קְלוֹאְרוֹנְט cloeront

שְׁרוֹנְט דְטַילְיֵיץ seront detailyéz יִמָּלוּ

שְׁרוֹנְט פרוייאיץ seront froyéz

xxv. 2. פְּאוֹשְׁטֵיה אֵיפָאוֹר posté é paour המשל ופחד

5. אוֹטַא ota ועד

קְלַרְזִירָא clarzira יאהיל

xxvi. 3. אִיאֵיפְלֵיט i éplét ותושיה (see Gl. on Prov. ii. 7)

איקונשייל e conseil

xxvi. 4. קוֹמְא גְרַנְט אַלֵיינְא come grant aleine מי

5. לֵיש לָאקְש les lâches הרפאים (Gl. lés alachéz)

לֵיש מוֹרץ les morts

שְׁרוֹנְט אַפאוֹרֵיץ seront apeoréz יחוללו (Gl. on Ps. xxix. 8, 9)

שְׁרוֹנְט קְוֵויץ seront chevéz

שְׁרוֹנְט קְרִיאֵיץ seront criéz

דנון קריארונט de non crieront

7. שׁוֹפַנְדַנְט sopandant תלה

דְנֵיינְט de néent בְּלִימַה

8. לִיאַנְט liant צרר (Gl. léont)

9. טְנַנְט tenant מאחז

אֵיקוֹבֵיטָא écovéta פרשז

10. אַפְלוֹיֵאמַנְט aploiément תכלית

11. טְרַנְבְלְרוֹנְט trenbleront יְרוֹפָפוּ

12. פְּרוֹנְצָא fronza רגע

רְפוֹש repos

xxvi. 13. אֵיפַּאַוּוּלְיוֹנַא épaavilyona שִׁפְרָה (Gl. apavilone)

אַנְבֵּילִיט anbélit

פּוּיְיאַנְט fuyant בריח

14. לֵיש פִּינְש les fins קצות

xxvii. 2. דְטוֹרְנַא detorna הסיר

אוֹטָא ota

6. הַאַטְרָא haatera יחרף

לֵידַנְגְּרַא lédangera

8. טוֹלְדְרָא toldera יְבָצָע (Gl. todra)

גֵּיטְרָא jétera ישל

אֵיפַּיְיזִיבְלְרַא épaiziblera

11. גֵּיטְרַיי jéterai אוֹרֵה

אַנְשֵׁינְיְירַיי enseinyerai

19. שְׁרַא אָמַאשֵׁיה sera amasé יאסף

xxviii. 1. וֵורְשְׁרוֹנְט vérseront יזקו

אֵימְירְרִירוֹנְט émerriront

4. דֵיפֵּיצָא dépéza פרץ

אֵיאַנְפּוֹרְצָא é anforza

אַפּוֹבְרִירֵינְט apovrirent דָּלוּ

xxviii. 4 cont. אֵיהוֹלְצִיירֵינְט é holsirent

7. לוֹבוֹטוֹיֵיר lo votoeir אָיָה

8. מְאַרְקִירֵינְט לוּיי marchirent lui הדריכהו

אַטָּינְיִירֵינְט לוּיי atainyirent lui

לֵיאוֹן léon שחץ

אִיפּוֹרְצָא éforza

פְּאָשָׁא pasa עדה

11. דְאַנְשַׁיְירְמַנְט de ansayremant מבכי

אֵירְצֵילְמַנְט e rizélemant ותעלימה

אָפַּיְיטָא afaita חבש

פּוֹרְצַיְינְט forzaient

16. שְׁרָא לוֹאֵיה sera loé תְּסֻלֶּה

שְׁרָא פְּרִיזֶה sera prizé

18. אֵיטְרָיְיאְמַנְט e trayemant ומשך

xxix. 4. דְמָא גֹּוֹנִיצָא de ma joniza חֲרָפִי (Gl. joynose)

אַן לַאגֹּוֹטְמַנְט an l'ajotemant בסוד

6. אַנְבּוּרָא an bure בְּחֵמָה

xxix. 6 cont. אֵיפֹּוֹרְט é fort וצור

אירוקא é roche

וֵוּרְשָׁרָא versera יצוק

פּוֹנְדְרָא fondera

7. צִיטֵי cité קָרֶת

טְרַאַוַּונְט traavant

18. אֵיקוֹמְא שַׁאבִילְיוֹן e come sabilion וכחול

20. אן מאפֹּוֹרְצְא en ma forze וקשתי

קַנְגְּרַא changera תחליף

אִיאֵיפֹּוֹרְצְרָא i éforzera

21. אֵיטַנְדִירֵינְט é tandirent וְיִחְלוּ

אִיאֵיפְרִירֵינט é éperirent

אֵי טַנְדִירֵינְט é tandirent וְיִדְמוּ

xxx. 3. אַרְשׁוֹיֵיר arsoeir אמש

אֵיקוּרְטֵי écurté

בְּרוּאִינְא bruine שואה

5. דְדַנְץ dedanz מִן גֵו

דְאַן אַנְפְּרָא d'an anpre (Godefroy, en empres)

6. אוֹדְבְּרִייזְמַנְט au debrizemant בַּעֲרֹץ

xxx. 7. קְרִיאְרוֹנְט crieront יִנְהֲקוּ

שְׁרוֹנְט אָמַשֵׁיץ seront amaséz יספחו

9. לוּר פַּרְלאֵיץ lur parlés נְגִינָתַם

11. אֵיפְּרֵינְק e frainc וְרֶסֶן (Gl. é bride)

דֵישִׁקְוֵויטְרֵיץ deschevétréz (see Cotgrave s.v. deschevèstré)

12. פְּלוֹר flor פָּרָחָה

אנפנט anfant

אֵידְמַרְקִיירֵינְט é démarchirent וְיָסֹלוּ

פְּרִייזִירֵינְט frizirent ?

17. פּוּפּוֹרְגֵייאָה fu forgé נִקַּר

אֵימֵיש פַּיְיזַנְץ פּוּיְיאֵיר é més faisanz fuyer וְעֹרְקָי

18. אֵיטֵיט דֵימוֹאֵי était démoé יתחפש (Gl. demua)

אֵידֵיפּוֹלְיֵיא é depolyé (see Gl. s.v. despuyler)

19. אַנְשִׁינְיֵי מוֹיֵי ansinya moi הורני (Gl. anséynès moy)

xxx. 19 cont. גֵ֫יטָא מוֹיֵ֫ jéta moi

אָמוֹרְטֵיר a morteyr לָחֹמֵר

20. טוֹיי toi (= tais) עמדתי

22. אידנישיש מוֹיֵ֫ e denises moi וּתְמוֹגְגֵנִי (Gl. é dénis moi)

אֵיאֵיקְרוֹלָש é écrolas

24. פְּלוֹיְיאה ploye (= plaie) יד

אַנְבָּלוֹיְיאמַנְט an baloyemant [בעי]

אַנפֹּוֹשְׁא an fose

אַן שׁוֹן דְּבְרִייזְמַנְט an son debrizemant בפידו

טְרִיטוֹר tritor

אַנְבָּנוֹיְיאמַנְט anbanoyemant שׁוּעַ

פְּרַייאֵירְא prayere

לֹאקֹמנט lâchemant

25. אָדוּר a dur לִקְשֵׁה

דוֹלוֹזָא doloza עגמה

27. פֹּוֹרֵינְט אֵיקַלְפֵּ֫יץ forent échalféz רֻתָּחוּ (Gl. furt échaféz)

xxx. 27 cont. סֵינְיִירֵינְט senyirent דָּמוּ (Gl. séynért)

אֵטַנְדִירֵינְט étandirent

30. אֵשַׁרְטָא ésarta חָרָה (Gl. ésarti)

xxxi. 3. אֵיפְּרַיְיטְא é fraite וְנֵכַר

אֵיאַנְקְלוֹאְמַנְט é ancloemant

7. מָאָלְוּוִייטֵיה mâlvité מְאוּם

נִיאַנְט niant

8. אֵמֵיש אַנְפַּנְץ é mes anfanz וְצֶאְצָאַי

שְׁרוֹנְט דַישַׁרַצִינֵיץ seront daisrazinéz (Gl. seront dérazinéz)

10. כּוֹקְרָא cochera תטחן

שֵׁירוּוִירָא servira

מוֹלרא molera

11, דְּאגֹּוּטִיזְא de jutize פלילים (Gl. yutis)

12. דִישרצינרא daisrazinera תשרש (Gl. arazineras)

15. אן וונטרא און an vantre on ברחם אחד

22. דְּלְאֵיפַּלְרוֹן delépaleron מְשִׁכְמָה (see Gl. éspaleron)

xxxi. 22 cont. דוֹ קְאנוֹן do chinon מִקָּנֶה (see Cotgrave—Chinon du col. The nape of the neck)

23. אֵידְשׁוֹן פַּיְיש e de son fais וּמִשְׁאֵתוֹ

אֵידְשׁוֹן פַּרְלִיְוְוּמַנְט e de son parlivemant

26. קְלֵיר clér יְקַר

קוֹבֵיירְט covert

קְייר chier

30. אַנְשֵׁירְמַנְט an sermant בְּאָלָה

אַן מַלְאִיצוֹן an malizon

34. דְּבְרִייְזְרַיי debrizerai אֵעְרַץ

דְּפְרַיְינְט מוֹיי defraint moi יְחִתָּנִי (see Gl. défréynt)

איאיטויי é étuie וְאֶדֹּם (see Godefroy, s.v. estuier = taire)

אֵיאָטַנְדִי é atandi

35. מוֹן מֵרְק mon merk תָּוִי

39. שׁוֹן אָבוֹייְר son avoyr כחה

שָׁאפוֹרְצְא sa forze

xxxi. 40. לַנְבְּרוֹיְישְׁא lanbroyse (= lambruche) בָּאְשָׁה

xxxii. 4. אַטַנְדִי atandi חִכָּה

6. דוֹטֵיי dotay זחלתי (Gl. doutéy)

15. דֵישאַטֵיקִירֵינְט desatéchirent העתיקו

דֵיגֵיטִירֵינט déjétirent

אַנְפּוֹיירְצִיְירֵינְט anfoyrziyerent

16. טוּרֵינְט turent עמדו

19. קוֹמְא בוֹצַיְילְש come bozayls כְּאוֹבוֹת (Gl. kome butéyl)

21. רְנוֹמְרַיי renomerai אכנה

22. דְּפוֹרְטְרָא מוֹיי deportera moi ישאני

אַרְדְרַא מוֹי ardera moi

xxxiii. 2. אַן מוֹן פָּלוֹייֵש en mon paloyés בחכי

3. קְלֵייר clér ברור

נֵיט nét

7. אֵימוֹן דֵיטְרַיְינְמַנְט é mon détrainemant אכפי

פּוֹר מָא בוֹקְא por ma boche

xxxiii. 10. דבוייאמנט devoiement תנואות (see Gl. on Num. xiv. 34)

איקויזנט ékoyzant (Gl. akuyzon)

11. אן צ׳פא an zep. בסד (Gl. an zépe)

אן קלץ an chalz

16. אי אן לור דישטריינמנט i an lur destrainemant ובמוסרם

19. אן שיש אוש an sés os עצמיו

איתן fort פורט

20. איאבורית לוי é aboret lui וזהמתו

שאוייאה saa vie חיתו

21. יכל fenira פנירא

23. דגוטא לוי dejote lui עלין (Gl. on Gen. xviii. 2)

פור לאומא por l'ome לאדם

24. ראיינטא לוי reainte lui פדעיהו (Gl. réyns luy)

25. פו אנגרייסייה fu angraissé רמפש

xxxiii. 25 cont. דאיקובמנט d'écouvémant מנעד

דאנפנצא d'anfanze

26. אנמלינייימנט an malinyemant בתרועה

27. אטירא atirera ישר

אדריצרא adrézera

רג[ר]דרא regardera

וואלט vaalt שוה

xxxiv. 3. איפלוייש é paloyes וחיך (Gl. é palays)

6. דמנטריי demanterai אכזב

פאלדרי falderai

מאפלייאה maa plaie חצי (Gl. ma pluye)

מאשייאיטא ma sayete

8. ואדנא é diua וארח

איקמינרא é cheminera

9. אאיזרא aaizera יסכן

16. אוירטישיט avértiset בינה (Gl. avértis)

17. שיגיירא si gére האף

ליארא liera יחבש

31. אופורט au fort אל אל

xxxiv. 31 cont. שִׁידִיטְא si dite האמר

36. מוֹן פִּירְא mon pere אבי

מוֹן בֹּולוֹיִיר mon voloyr (Gl. vodréy)

37. אָבֹונְדְרַא avondera יִסְפּוֹק

xxxv. 2. מַאיוּשְׁטִיה ma yusté צדקי

10. קַנְץ chants זמירות

דטאליימנט detalyemant

14. דְרַיְינָא deraina דין

אֵ דוֹטְרַש é doteras ותחולל

15. אֵינוֹן é non אין

אַנְקְרוֹיְיְשְׁמַנְט an croisemant בָּפָשׁ

xxxvi. 2. אָטַן atan כתר (Gl. aton)

אנויירונרא anvironera

8. אַנְקוֹרְדִיש an cordes בחבלי

אַנְדוֹלוֹרְש an dolores

12. אַן אֵיפֵיאָה an épée בַּשֶּׁלֶח

אנאבויימנט an avoiemant

14. אַן אַנְפַּנצְא an enfanze בַּנֹּעַר

xxxvi. 14 cont. אַן אֵקְרוֹלְמַנְט an écrolemant

אנפלירדייץ (? אֵיפְלַיידְיֵיץ an palyardéz) בַּקְדֵשִׁים

16. אִיאֵירְא אַן טִיצַא טוֹיי i eire antiza toi ואף הסיתך

אֵיגֵרֵיש é gérés ואף

דמא בוֹקְא de ma boche מפי

אֵיטְרוֹיְיטְא étroite צַר

לַרְגְא נוֹן אֵטְרוֹיְיט large non étroit רחב לא מוצק

אֵלְשׁוֹאֵיגְמַנְט é lesoégemant ונחת

אֵילוֹ לַיְיְשְׁמַנְט é lo laysemant ונחת

18. אַן אַבוֹנְדְמַנְט an abondemant בשַׁפַּק

אַן שׁוֹפַיטְא an sofaite

אנדבטמנט an debatemant (Gl. on batemont)

19. טוֹן קְרִי ton cri שועך

טוֹן אָבוֹיְיר ton avoir

xxxvi. 19 cont. טוֹן טוֹרְנְמַנְט ton tornemant שועך

טַאפְּרִייאֵירָא ta priére (Gl. ton prior)

20. אַה אָמוֹנְטֵייר a amontér לעלות

22. אַנְשִׁינְיַינְט ansinyant מורה (Gl. anséynont)

גֵ̆יטַנְט jétant

24. קַ̆נְטִירֵינְט chantirént שוררו

רְגַרְדִירֵנְט regardirént

27. אַמְנוּיְיזְרָא amenuizera יגרע

אַקְרוֹיְיטְרָא acroitera

28. טֵירָא tere אדם

גוֹטָא gota רב

אוֹמָא גְרַנְט ome grant אדם רב

30. שָׁאַ פְּלוֹיְיָא saa ploie אורו (Gl. sa pluye)

שְׁאַקְלַרְטֵיה sa clarté

31. גֻ̆וּטִיזְרָא jutizera ידין

אָה אֵיפְּלוֹיְיזְמַנְט a éploizemant [ל]מכביר (Gl. a le épluzé)

xxxvi. 31 cont. אָה אֵיקְרִיבֵלְמַנְט a écribélmant

32. נואש nues כפים

פָּאַלְמֵיש paalmés

33. שוֹן קוֹנְפַּינְיוֹן son con paynyon רעו

שון גובלמנט son jublemant

שון דבריזמנט son debrizemant

אִיקְ̆טְמַנְט דְאִירָא échetemant d'ire מקנה אַף

פגוֹנְיְיָא pegonye מקנה

xxxvii. 1. גֵ̆יירֵיש jéyrés אף גם

3. רְגַרְדְרַא לוּיי regardera lui יִשְׁרֵהוּ

טְרַנְפְּמַנְט trenpemant

9. אֵידֵיש אַיפַּנְדַנְץ é des aipandants וממזרים

11. גירִיש אִילִיזמנט jéyrés élézemant אַף בְּרִי

שָׁאפְּלוּיְיָא sa pluie אורו

שַׁאַקְלַרְטֵיה saa clarté

13. אָוֵורְגָ̆א a verge לשבט

18. אֵיטַנְדִיש étandis תרקיע

טְרְגֵיטֵי terjété מוּצָק (Gl. trejété)

xxxvii. 18 cont. מִירוֹאֵר miroér [ראי]

20. שְׂרָא דֵיקוֹבֵ֫יירְט sera décovért יבלע

שרא אנגלוטיה sera engloté

21. טֵיקְ֫אֵייְאה teicheye בָהִיר (Gl. tâche, misprinted *lâche*)

נוֹאֶה noe

xxxviii. 1. דֶלְאֵיטוֹרְבֵילְיוֹן delétorbeilyon מן הסערה

3. טֵיש לוֹנְגֵ֫ייש tes longes חלציך

5. דְשֵׁיש מְזוֹרֵיש de ses mesores ממדיה

6. פּוּרֵינט אַנְפּוּנְדְרֵיש furent anfondrés הטבעו

פּוֹרֵינְט מוֹנַייְאֵיץ furent monayéz

7. קְאַנְט קַ֫נְטָא quant chanta בְּרֹן

לֵיש אַנְגְ֫רִיש les angeris

(אַנְגֵ֫ייש ? anges) בני אלקים

8. אִיאָנְקְלוֹשְׁט é anclost ויסך (Gl. é klot)

xxxviii. 8 cont. אַן שוֹן טְרַייְמַנְט an son traimant בְּגִיחוֹ

9. שוֹן אַנְוְלוֹפְּמַנְט son anvelopemant חֲתוּלָתוֹ

10. אֵיפּוֹשוֹייְאֵייה é fosoyai ואשבר

אֵידְבְרִייְזֵייה é debrizai

11. מֵיטְרָא métra ישית

12. פְּאִיש שָׁבוֹיֵיר fis savoir

13. אֵשְׁרוֹנְט אֵיקְרוֹלֵיץ é seront écroléz וינערו

אֵישְׁרוֹנְט אֵיקוֹבֵ֫יץ é seront écovéz (Gl. é seront éskos)

23. דְאַנְגוֹייְשְׁאוּר d'angoyseur צר

24. פְּלוּייְא pluie אוֹר

קְלַרְטֵיה clarté

25. פּוֹשְׁא fose תעלה

אָלָא נוֹאֶה à la noe לחזיז

אוֹ בֹוֹייְמַנְט o voyemant

28. מַייְטְרָא maitre אב

פֵּיירָא pere

פּוֹנְטַייְנֵיש fontaines אגלי

xxxviii. 28 cont. מוֹנְצִייֵש monzias = monceaux גלי

אוֹדְיֵש oudes (? ondes) גלי

גוֹטֵש gotes (Gl. gutes)

בַצִינְש bazins אגני

29. דְוַונְטְרָא de vantre מבטן

31. לֵיש לִייאַנְש les lians מעדנות

לֵיש טְרֵיאמַנְץ les tréimanz מֹשְׁכוֹת

אֵילַאקְרַש élacheras תְפָתָח (Gl. alacheroys)

32. אֵיאוּרֵיש é ures מָזָרוֹת

מֵינְרָא אוּש ménera us תַנְחֵם

35. בְרַנְדוֹש brandos ברקים

אֵילוּיִירְש eluires

36. אֵיש דְלַבְמַנְץ es delavemanz בטוחות

רוֹנְיוֹנְשְׁ ronyons

אנקורש en cors בטוחות

אָה לַקוֹבֵיטְמַנְט a la covétement לְשִׁכְוֵי

xxxviii. 36 cont. או קוֹק o kok

37. קוֹנְטְרַא contera יספר

אֵיבוֹצִיֵיש é boziyas ונבלי (Gl. é boséys)

פְּרָא קוֹקֵיר fera cocher ישכיב

פרא דֵיגוֹטֵייר fera dégoter ישכיב

38. לְאָפַשְׁטְא la paste בצקת

קנט וורשא kant versa (Gl. kont versera)

אֵיבָלֵיטֵש é balétés ורגבים (Gl. é galétes, see vii. 5)

שְׁרוֹנְט אָגוֹטֵיץ seront ajotéz ידובקו

39. שי וַונְרַש si vaneras התצוד

אֵילָא וִויאֶה é la vie וחית

40. קְלִינְרוֹנְט clineront יָשׁוֹחוּ

בַישרונט bayseront

אַנְמָנוֹיירֵש en manoyres במעונות

xxxix. 1. אֵיקְרִיאַנְט é criant וחולל

xxxix. 1 cont. אֵיטְרָאוֵילְיַינְט é travaillant

צִירְגֵ֫יש cerges אילות

4. אַנְבְּלֵיף an blef בָּבַר

אוֹדְפַּוֹרְש au defors

7. אַבְרוּיְיט דְוִוילְא a bruit de vile להמון קריה

צִיטֵיה cité קריה

בְּרוּיְיאַמַנְץ bruyamanz תשואות

8. צֵירְקְ֫רַא sérchera יתור

אַפלוּזְמַנְט apluzemant יְתוּר

10. אוֹרוֹיְיאוֹן o royon בְּתֶלֶם (Gl. on réyon)

11. שוֹן אָבַ֫וֹייר son avoir כחו

שאפַּוֹרְצְא sa force

13. דקריץ de criz רְנָנִים

אֵיפְלוֹמְא é plome וְנוֹצָה

14. שֵיש אוּש ses us ביציה

15. אֵיפְרֵינְטְלַיי épreinte lay תזורה (Gl. épondras li)

אֵיקְלוֹרַא éclora

17. אָשְׁאוֹרֵיר aseorer הִשָּׁה

xxxix. 18. אֵיהַלְצְרָא éhalzera תַּמְרִיא

19. ברוּייט bruit רעמה

20. לוֹקְרִי lo cri הוד

21. קְ֫אַוְורוֹנְט chaveront יחפרו

צֵירְקְ֫רוֹנְט sércheront

אַנְלַא וָולֵיאְה en la valéi בעמק

23. דַרְק darc חנית (Gl. deart)

איפיאה épée כידון (Gl. éspéy)

24. פַּוֹשׁוֹיְיָרָא fosoyera יְגָמֵא (Gl. fosayra)

גוֹלוֹיְיזְרָא goloyzera

אַנְגְלוֹפְרָא anglopera (see Gl. onglupir, Gen. xxiv. 17)

25. אַן אָבַטְא an abate בדי

גֹ֫וֹיְיאְה joie האח

26. אֵילוֹיְיאְרַא éloyera יאבר

מַנְבְּרוֹיְיאְרָא manbroyera

אוֹלְטוֹייֵר [v]oltoier נץ

30. אַנְגְלוֹטִירוֹנְט anglotiront יְעַלְעוּ

xxxix. 30 cont. גורגויירונט gorgoyeront

הומרונט humeront

קורטויירונט cortoyeront

xl. 2. שיאדריינייר si aderainér הרב

שיטנצונענט si tanzonant

שרא קייטיאה sera chaytiyé יסור

שרא פרינצויאה sera prinzoyé

טימוינרא לי témoinera lay יעונה

4. אווילייאה avilyé קלותי

אמא בוקא a ma boche למו פי

17. אנדורצירא andurzira יחפוץ

שיש אוש ses us (= oeufs) פהדיו

שונט אנטרוקיין sont entrochéz ישרגו

אנברנקיין anbranchéz

19. קידשטריינט לוי qui destraynt lui העשו

xl. 20. גואונט joont ישחקו

22. אונברייש onbrés צאלים

שון אונברא son onbre צללו

23. קאנט טריירא quaant tréra כי יגיח

24. נאריליא narile אף

25. טרייריש tréyras תמשך

28. אגוטנין ajotanz חברים

31. שיאמאשרא si amasera התמלא

אן לוגיש an logis בשכות

איאן אונברא i an onbre ובצלצל

xli. 4. שיש פורין ses forz בדיו

שיש מנצונגיש ses manzonges

אימזיירמנט é meziremant וחין

איפריאירא é prayere

איפוזמנט é pozemant

6. אוברי ovré פתח

יאנציווש janzives סביבות שניו

xli. 7. דְפֿוֹרְץ de forz אפיקי

רוישילש ruiseles

10. שֵׁיש אֵיטֵרנוּאְמַנְץ ses éternuemanz עֲטִישׁוֹתָיו

אוברמנץ ovremanz

אֵיקְלַרְזִירָא éclarzira תָהֵל (Gl. éclarzit)

אֵיקְלַרְזִירָש éclarziras

11. קוֹמְא אֵיטַנְצֵילֵיש come étanzeles כידודי

קומא אוליש come oles

12. בוֹלְיוֹנֵי bolyoné נפוח

אִיאוֹרְצַיְיל i orzayl וְאַגְמן

מָרוֹיְיש maroys

13. שְׁאָלַינְא salayne נפשו

15. לֵיש קֵיאְמַנְץ les chéyemanz מַפְלִי

לֵיש מַנְבְרֵיש les manbrés

16. קומא מוֹלְא come mole כפלח

17. דְשׁוֹן לֵיוּוְמַנְט de son lévemant מְשֵׁתוֹ

פֿוֹרְץ forz אלים

שְׁרוֹנְט פֵּילְיֵיש seront félyés יתחטאו

xli. 17 cont. שְׁרוֹנְט אַקְלִינְצֵייש seront aclinzés

18. דְאַרְק darc חנית

20. שַׁאַיְיאֵיט saayét בן קשת

21. אֵשְׁפֵּיְיאה? אֵשָׁפֵּיְיאה ésapée חותח

22. אָגוּיְיזֵייץ aguizéz חדודי

קְלַרְטֵיץ clartéz

פְּאַרְרָא parera יִרְפַּד

פְּאַוִירַא pavera

טְאֵלְיֵיה télyé חָרוּץ

פֵּיאֵינְגְא fiénge טיט

23. קוֹמְא אַפִּימַנְטְמַנְט come apimantemant כמרקחה

24. אֵקְלַרְזִירָא שַׁנְטֵיר éclarzira santier יאיר נתיב

אה קְנִיצְא a chenize לשיבה

25. שׁוֹן פוֹטְמַנְט son potemant משלו

לוֹ פַּייט lo fait הַעָשׂוּ

שׁוֹיְיאֵייץ פֵּיץ soyez faiz

דְנוֹן דֵיפְרַיינְמַנְט de non défrainemant לבלי חת

26. הָאלְט וֵורָא halt véra גיבא יראה

xli. 26 cont. אָוִוילְיְיָרָא avilyera יראה

דְאוֹרגוֹיְילָא d'orgoyl שָׁחָץ

xlii. 2. שְׁרָא דְבוֹיְיאֵה sera devoyé יבצר

שְׁרַא אָמֵירְמֵיה sera amérmé

3. רֵיצֵלְאַנְט rézélant מעלים

דְנוֹן שָׁאבוֹיֵיר de non savoyér בלי דעת

מְאַרְבוֹלְיֵיש marvolyés נפלאות

7. דְרוּיְיטוֹרְא druytore נכונה

xlii. 8. פּוֹר בּוֹשׁ por vos עליכם

דֵיפוֹרְטְרַיֵי déporterai אשא

10. שׁוֹן קוֹנְפֵינְיוֹן son compényon רעהו

אָשְׁגוֹנְדְמַנְט a segondemant למשנה

11. מְאַיְילְייא mayle קשיטה

דנייר deneyr

13. שָׁטַיְינְא sataine שִׁבְעַנָה

14. קַרְבוֹנְקֶל charboncle הפוך

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.